

INSIDE: The flowering of democracy in a Latin American stronghold

Maclean's

JANUARY 21, 1985

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THE ECLIPSE OF SEPARATISM

**The growing
concern over René
Lévesque's health**

**The crumbling
Parti Québécois
coalition**

**A new generation
of Quebecers
turns away from
independence**





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COVER

Separation in eclipse

In the wake of a sudden scare about Premier René Lévesque's health, his risen and shrunken Parti Québécois carefully prepared for a watershed policy convention that would test its political will-being and even its future prospects for survival as a Quebec drastically transformed since sovereignty was the political and social rage. —Page 14

COVER PHOTO BY PHILIP HENRIKSEN



The decline of gold

Only five years after gold hit a record high of \$875 an ounce, it has tumbled to the \$300 range, forcing layoffs and slashing profits at gold mines across Canada. —Page 38



A long list of ghost towns

More than 400 ghost towns across Canada underscore the vulnerability of single-industry towns and raise questions about the methods of developing resources. —Page 46



Brazil's new beginning

After more than 30 years of military rule a South American giant is poised to return to democratic rule. But the transition doubtless will be a difficult one. —Page 24



The relentless competitor

U.S. runner Mary Decker is back on the track-and-field circuit, but she is avoiding direct competition with Zola Budd after their collision during the Olympics. —Page 36

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Plus ça change

To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven. —Ecclesiastes 3:1

When Quebec Premier René Lévesque had to spend more than 20 hours in hospital for extensive tests last week, there was a striking sense of history repeating itself, of a political season changing in ways that seem to be an essential part of the Quebec fabric. Although there is a widespread expectation that he will step down as premier after the next election, the architect of the independence option has managed to steer his Parti Québécois government toward a new purpose—to work out the province's destiny within Confederation.



In the mid-1960s Union Nationale Premier Daniel Johnson helped to sow the seeds of separation when, like Lévesque, he launched Quebec on a markedly independent course, during which nationalist became the predominant force in the province. And, as with Lévesque, Johnson's health attracted widespread attention when he was admitted to hospital for nearly two weeks near the end of his career.

Montreal Bureau Chief Anthony Wilson-Smith, who reported this week's cover story, has followed Lévesque and the rest closely for the past five years. But he said that the image of both the party and its leader has changed noticeably in the past 18 months. Replanned Wilson-Smith: "The whole party has begun to look old and tired. Once, they had a monopoly on youth. Perhaps they have done their job too well. They have given Quebecers enough confidence in themselves that now they are prepared to remain as part of Canada, certain that their essential differences cannot be threatened."

Kevin Doyle

March 21, 1985

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Le Fine Food



Forum on hypocrisy

There are many Canadians who would disagree with Barbara Amiel's views as expressed in her Dec. 24 column, "The hypocrisy of hypocrisy." Many people in the real world, which she decries, do believe in equal pay for work of equal value, affirmative action and multiculturalism and do not consider it hypocritical to support those views. Amiel neither sees, wishes to see nor seeks to understand views other than her own.

—BETH BENDERIDGE,
Toronto

I can think of no more perfect example of Barbara Amiel's theory—that Canadians are becoming overly fond of holding one set of values in private and a different set in public—than the case of Premier Richard Hatfield's impending trial. Under National News in the same issue ("A new date for Hatfield") we read about the judge in the case having to withdraw because he expressed a private opinion on public policy. If the Canadian public were polled on the subject, the vast majority would agree with the judge's opinion—that privileged people in Canadian society deserve a different sentence when they break the law "than Joe Blow from Kildare who is a poor drunk." There remains some truth in the adage that with privilege goes responsibility.

—CHANCEY FRAMES,
King's County, N.S.

I must take issue with at least the first view that Barbara Amiel advances in her column. She refers to "individuals



Erik Malinen: a truly rare event

being largely responsible for their own fortunes or misfortunes." Taking this view a short step farther produces the conclusion that the underprivileged are mostly to blame for their own plight. Is this not the main reason that the underprivileged are victimized? Amiel's argument depends on the obviously ridiculous assumption that we all start off in life with more or less the same resources and opportunities and that most discrepancies in our (or any other) society are caused by how we manage or mismanage our personal lives.

—ERIC RYAN,
Vancouver

Barbara Amiel implies that Canadians are now afraid to voice publicly an opinion regarding sexual equality, racial equality and the problems of the Third World. Those of us who try to "fight back" merely by stating that equality is not necessarily synonymous with interchangeability find that our views are not tolerated in the "Letters to the Editor" columns of our daily papers. Newspaper editors are quick to condemn official censorship, yet they practice it as a routine basis. They call it editing, but where does editing end and censorship begin? What constitutes freedom of the press? A luxury to be enjoyed by editors? For they alone determine what shall appear in their journals.

—HELEN GRACE,
Toronto

A future in publishing

Charles Gordon states that no one has written *Nineteen Eighty-Five* ("The one and only of 1984," *Guest Column*, Dec. 31). In fact, Anthony Burgess has written it.

—BRYAN TOUTERBROW,
Edmonton

PASSAGES

IMMIGRATED Socialists Only. David Orin, 20, who led his left-wing *Sandinista National Liberation Front* (Frente) party to a 60-per-cent victory in the first Nicaraguan general election held since the 1954 island power in the 1979 revolution, as president of the national assembly for a six-year term, at the outdoor Plaza of the Revolution in the capital city, Managua. Cuban President Fidel Castro was the only head of state among the representatives from the 67 countries who attended the swearing-in ceremonies.

APPOINTEED Former Canada Development Investment Corp. chairman Maurice Strong, 66, who resigned that position a week after the Conservative party swept to power last September, as executive co-ordinator of the United Nations Office of Emergency Operations in Africa. Strong held a variety of high-level Crown corporation jobs during the Liberal government tenure and he also served as Secretary General of the UN Conference of the Environment in Stockholm in 1972.

HEARD Former candy manufacturing company executive Robert Welch, Jr., 58, who formed the ultraconservative, anti-communist John Birch Society in 1964, from the effects of a stroke he suffered in December, 1965, at the Winchester Nursing Home in Winchester, Mass. The John Birch Society attracted as many as 100,000 members at its peak in the mid-1960s. Members shared Welch's belief in an international communist conspiracy to erode democratic governments.

SENTENCED Paul Archambault, 22, who saved the lives of three passengers following an Alberta plane crash that killed six people, including Alberta star boxer Grant Snelly last October, to one year probation without surveillance after he pleaded guilty to a Quebec provincial court to a charge of break and enter. The charges against Archambault stemmed from a Sept. 13, 1983, robbery at the Aylmer, Que., *Galienne Golf Club*.

RELEASED Accused "subway vigilante" Bernard Goetz, 37, who was charged with illegal possession of a weapon and attempted murder of four youths who harassed him on a Manhattan subway train on Dec. 22, from *Hikkers Island Infirmary* in New York on bail of \$50,000, which he paid himself. A successful electronics businessman, Goetz turned himself in to the police in Concord, N.H. nine days after the controversial shooting that made him into a folk hero in the eyes of many Americans.

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The secret Wilson folders

It is with great pleasure that I read on the last line of George Bush's Dec. 13 column ("Secret papers and the right to know," Media Watch) that he considered that the Winnipeg Free Press was wrong in allowing the exposure of two private folders of Finance Minister Michael Wilson to be published without the owner's consent. The decision gives great impact to the sincerity of Bush's art also affords a pretty dismal and cheap suggestion of the managing editor of the Free Press. If the folders had contained unprinted matter, the question of pilferage wouldn't have arisen.

—EAC ROWEN,
Mississauga, Ont.

A cabinet minister leaves a minute file, and a secretary reads out the text of eight minutes of dictation. The fact that these are "confidential" never entered the minds of the reporter who spent minutes copying the briefing papers or the radio station personnel who broadcast the dictation. Is this where much of our news comes from? No wonder the government has slapped a "top order" on the civil service. Freedom of the press is great, but does it really include breaching such confidentiality?

—LOREN L. SCHWARTZ,
Midland, Ont.

The atrocities of war

Thank you for your informative update on Afghanistan ("The view south of Afghanistan," World, Dec. 20). Although your reporting is generally sound, I found it regretful that you were so biased against the Soviets. Although I do not condemn their "invasion" of Afghanistan, it did seem to me that you were taking the natural acts of warfare committed by the Soviet military and showing them to be great acts of barbarity, without even mentioning the acts of barbarism performed by the Afghan rebels. There simply is no such thing as a moral war. If you are going to report about the atrocities of war committed by one side, then it is only proper to report the other's as well.

—DANIEL BLUMER,
Toronto

Morgentaler's acquittal

With all due respect to Frank De Zeeze and Rev. Teddy Shuts ("Morgentaler and abortion," Letters, Dec. 16), I feel they are laboring under a misapprehension about the jury selection process, in order to serve on a jury the prospective gavelist must first be screened by both the defence and the Crown attorney. If he or she is deemed unacceptable by either party, he or she cannot be a juror for that particular case. [All the "professional jury consultants" in the world

are useless when the Crown can reject the ones you choose.] Therefore, would it not be more logical to assume that since Morgentaler has been acquitted of the same charge on four separate occasions, the majority of people in Canada feel that particular law is not justus but harassment and discrimination indeed?

—CHERYL AFFRAGGIO,
Midlandville, Ont.

I wish Rev. Smith would ask for my opinion and permission before claiming to speak on my behalf. Not all Christians are opposed to abortion. It is unfortunate that abortion is required, but, especially in the case of young rape victims, the option of abortion must remain.

—DAVID MOORE,
Toronto

Many of those outraged by the acquittal of Dr. Henry Morgentaler seem to believe that the jury was "stacked." They should realize that jurors were selected by mutual agreement of prosecution and defence to avoid bias on either side of the abortion issue. Their suggestion that the anti-choice view was not strongly enough represented on the jury is completely alien to the democratic concept of justice. Those who have strong prejudices on either side should certainly be excused from jury duty in abortion trials.

—KIM BILMAN,
Monterey Bay, Calif.

When Nielsen smiled

Congratulations to photographers Andrew Vaughan and Chris Mikals for capturing on film a truly rare event last year: Erik Sjöström—two photographs of a smiling Dick Nielsen. —JESSE BASTA,
Thunder Bay, Ont.

Money is all that counts

Reading about the staggering debts that some Liberal hopefuls accumulated last year, I am coming to the conclusion that the big parties are in power only by virtue of wasting incredible sums for publicity campaigns and gentle brainwashing ("Eileen Johnson states the obvious," Canada, Dec. 20). No wonder that small parties such as the Green Party or independent candidates have no chance. This so-called democracy does not give equal chances to a simple citizen or a party that proposes sound policy. Money is all that counts. By voting for the Liberals and Conservatives you vote also for money and the upper-income classes because only they can afford this publicity excess.

—KEP BLAIRSON,
Montreal

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply name, address and telephone number. Most correspondence is referred to the Editor. Member's magazine, *Maclean's Reader*, 777 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5W 1A7.



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G&A: ROSARIO MURILLO

Nicaragua's radical first lady

On Jan. 10, 1985, when Daniel Ortega was inaugurated as Nicaragua's first constitutional president, Rosario Murillo, her 32-year-old, European-educated common-law wife and mother of five (four sons—aged 2 to 7—became the country's first lady. A poet with a teenage son and daughter from a previous marriage, she is also an elected deputy to the new

go back to living from place to place, from house to house. Nobody ever wants to give up peace—a peace that was won with so much blood. And it is something that the Reagan administration will have to answer for in coming generations; so many people are growing up with this fear hanging over their heads.

possible to go out and have a beer or a meal with friends in the places I used to go. If I go to a restaurant people can come up and say, 'Look at that.' With what courage is he trying to do this? It is just impossible to live the way we used to, impossible.

Murillo: Do you have leisure time? **Murillo:** Oh, I hardly have any little leisure time, almost none. There is a moral problem in regard to leisure time: how can you go out and entertain yourself when you know that there is a war going on, that our youth has been called up to fight, that so many of our people are dying? In those times of direct war that we are living it is hard to think about leisure time.

Murillo: How does this special situation you live in affect your children?

Murillo: It is a very delicate, sensitive problem. One day you wake up and see that your kids are growing up in this large comfortable house and that there is no lack of food, no real hardship. How then are they going to grow up? How are they going to develop? How are they going to know that it has been sacrificed on their behalf?

Murillo: These are constant questions you pose. What are the answers?

Murillo: By making an effort from when they are young to teach them about and expose them to the revolution, by taking them to all of the political activities, by keeping them closely in touch with what is happening, keeping them in touch with children from all sectors of society. That is why we decided to send all of the children to public schools where they are in direct contact with the people. They do not go to the private schools which still continue for an elite here. This direct contact, plus the education we give them, is the only thing that might give them a chance to develop in a healthy direction. So it is a constant struggle. We might even be excessively anxious in teaching our kids not to think they are different than others.

Murillo: How can you be optimistic in that regard?

Murillo: My seven-year-old has been really terrified by the war's losses and the talk of war. When he asks what is going on, I guess we could say, 'Look, do not worry about it. It is really important.' But instead we have decided to let him the truth, to discuss the situation with him like an adult. And that is a very hard choice because it does not really eliminate the fear. We have decided to teach him to live with that fear, not to hide from it. ☐



Murillo, Ortega, know the problems of raising a family in the constant shadow of war

national assembly, the general secretary of both the Nicaraguan National Workers Union and the Sandinista Cultural Workers Association, and a great-grandson of Gregorio Escobar Sandino, the father of the Nicaraguan revolution who was gunned down by the National Guard in 1934. As before on upper-class revolutionaries, Murillo has a charming, sophisticated air and a predilection for jeans and simple cotton blouses.

Murillo's correspondent Marc Cooper interviewed her recently in Managua.

Murillo: There has been a big mobilization under way here in Nicaragua preparing for direct U.S. intervention. Do you believe that an American invasion is now inevitable?

Murillo: Whether it comes or not you have to be ready for it, and not just with guns—you also have to be psychologically prepared for it. That's the hardest part of it, knowing that we may have to

Murillo: Last October you and Daniel visited the United States. How did it feel being in that country?

Murillo: Strangely. On the one hand, there is the admiration and appreciation you have to feel when you see certain types of material progress and construction. On the other hand, as someone from the Third World, you know what blood and sacrifice and exploitation it took to build all that. There is also that uncomfortable feeling that while we can have good relations with a small part of the American people, there is always the American government which is currently bringing death to our sons. We know that we are on the territory of our enemy. It is not that we are gripped with fear, or anything like that, but it is a constant tension you cannot shake.

Murillo: How has your political status changed your life?

Murillo: I cannot go everywhere I like. I cannot do everything I used to. It is not

It's almost embarrassing. We wanted to write about some affordable off-season sites here for travel planning information while the Spring, Victoria's gardens and antique shops, Vancouver's hotels and night spots. But then we got carried away lazing in British Columbia, Department the thought of getting away from it all. Fishing lodges. The Inside Passage ferry. Guest ranches and of course kayaking, 2117 Wharf Street, Victoria, British about in spots like Emerald Lake in our Rockies. They're all equally within reach this time of year. So you see where Columbia, Canada V8W 2Z2. ever you travel here this Spring, you'll probably be leaving some of our best places behind.

For: Chris Richmond, Montreal Bureau/Type 10

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Taylor five years after the "Canadian Capet," he is a corporate executive in New York

FOLLOW-UP

Ken Taylor's new life

In the winter of 1980 Kenneth Taylor became a bona fide North American hero. As Ottawa's ambassador to Iran, he provided over the clandestine departure from Iran of six U.S. diplomats who fled when their embassy compound was captured by Islamic militants. His grace and considerable cool under the pressure of what became known as "The Canadian Capet" earned Taylor the adulation and gratitude of the American people, numerous awards and city keys, and a prestigious posting as casual general in New York, where his effervescent charm made him a prized guest on the fast-paced diplomatic circuit. Then, last June, after 35 years with external affairs, Taylor left the government to become the senior vice-president, government affairs, for Nabisco Brands, Inc., the sprawling New York-based foods manufacturer.

The new post was tailor-made. From his spacious office 10 stories above New York's Madison Avenue, Taylor, now 50, interprets how changing government policies, commodity price trends and global currency fluctuations will affect Nabisco's far-flung operations—the kind of knotty problems any high-level diplomat might encounter.

Taylor's celebrated diplomatic mission in Iran began on Nov. 8, 1979, four days after the U.S. Embassy was overrun. The escaped U.S. officials telephoned from a hiding place in Tehran, asking if the Canadians would take them in, within two days the "vitalist" arrived at Taylor's official residence

and the home of one of his staff. Two months later an anonymous phone call or asked for one couple by name—thereby prodding authorities in Ottawa and Washington into activating an escape plan. His flawless execution made Taylor an instant sensation. After a brief rest and a speaking tour, he became central general in 1981.

Taylor's penchant for parties in New York, where he was known as a "dinner diplomat," raised eyebrows in official Ottawa. Finally, when the Trudeau government sought to expedite a shift of diplomats that would have transferred the casual home, Taylor began studying other offers. "I didn't see myself going back to Ottawa," says Taylor now. "As a public servant there, you are expected not to have a public posture or profile. For four years, one way or another, I had." He met with future Prime Minister Brian Mulroney several times and was tempted by the prospect of running for a seat, then taking on a major portfolio in a Tory cabinet. The Conservatives even took polls on Taylor's behalf, but eventually Taylor decided to try the private sector. He had had enough of government, at least for the time being.

In addition to a major jump in salary, Taylor's move to Nabisco has meant a new home overlooking exclusive Central Park South. Taylor, who lives with his wife, Pat, a virologist, has kept his Canadian citizenship. But with so much apparently going for him in his new business career, it may be a while before he finds his way back home. □

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COLUMN

China's deceptive brand-new look

By Barbara Aronow

Last year the People's Republic of China did two remarkable things. It sent some of its leaders voyaging around the world wooing Western-style suits. Its effective leader, Deng Xiaoping, also mentioned that a few of Karl Marx's ideas were out of date. This proved to be an irresistible combination, and a lot of people from Ronald Reagan to Margaret Thatcher pronounced themselves entranced by the new Chinese. Reagan even referred to them as the "no-called" Communists—which, coming from a so-called right winger, is only appreciation.

On the other side of the ledger, the Chinese also played host to the most important Soviet visitor Peking has seen for 15 years. First Deputy Minister Ivan Arkipov went through the ritual Chinese ceremonies that occur whenever a new foreign leader sits down, including toasts and references to a positive exchange of views. This time the press release lings from the two events was even warmer than usual, with the Chinese saying that there was "no doubt" that relations were considerably warmed by the visit and Arkipov taking enthusiastically about "the great changes" of Premier Deng. The visit took place in the last few days of 1984, which may have explained how changes that were made the week before were now "great."

One can almost hear the voice of Big Brother Oceania is at war with Romania. Oceania is at war with Romania and always has been.

Part of this newly discovered friendship may be due to China's modest strength—which, in light of attempts by Canada's peace movement to convince otherwise, reinforces the old adage that peace and friendship are best maintained through strength. Last October the Chinese promised their C-4 KIMs that can now target cities in North America. They have also deployed C-3s, which could strike the western Soviet Union and targets in Eastern Europe. A report by the U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency said that the Soviets no longer had a first-strike capacity against the Chinese because the Chinese had hidden their nuclear arsenal so well.

The excitement of the new China was dimmed a bit by a report released by Amnesty International, which had the poor taste to remark that new-look Deng was still doing some old-look things. Last year he presided over the executions of several thousand people in

his anticrime drive. It was not clear of what crimes the people executed were guilty, since a few dissenting statements were now punished by the death penalty—including the crime of speaking one's own mind. China, being very much China, declined to give exact statistics on the executions or arrests, although it claimed that about 70,000 people had been hanged by local courts while 130,000 other lawbreakers headed themselves in voluntarily. China's public security ministry had one of its rare press conferences to justify the crackdown with the observation that "in a country like ours with one billion people it is good to have some people executed so as to educate the others."

It is difficult to see why any of the developments in China should be so encouraging to liberals in the West. By now, about the only people around who believe Marxist economics have any practical value whatsoever are the

"Two totalitarian countries can bury the hatchet as easily as two rival gang bosses on Chicago's south side"

Western Communists and Western fellow travelers, the women's movement, Pierre Trudeau, progressive Roman Catholic bishops, Canada's Anglican primate—and, of course, the United Church. Anyone who has actually tried this system knows that it begins with a particularly hopeful about China as acknowledging this. It is the totalitarian philosophy of Marx that oppresses, not the economic Premier Deng would prefer chairman to monarch.

He would prefer to be the dictator of a rich peasant rather than a poor one. Marxism has shown itself incapable of producing wealth—hence Deng's derision of the slogan of the Red Guard, "Better to have socialism weeds than capitalist flowers." Deng wants flowers.

What Deng most clearly does not want is liberty. The foreign title of his new book is *Building Socialism with Chinese Characteristics*. All that his "new" approach to Marx has done is to get rid of the inefficient baggage of orthodox socialist thinking—the religion of totalitarianism remains. Socialism, at least in its early and fairly early centuries, but can be brought in

line with modern needs. Deng has lost patience with the fundamentalists in his ranks.

Of course, there may be a slightly more disbeliever side to this updating of Marx. If you know the notes a little, internal enemies of the Chinese regime may be tempted to reveal themselves, which makes it easier to purge them. Mao was bitter about the Cultural Revolution pruned them. Or perhaps this new nod to capitalism comes from taking a leaf out of Lenin's book. When he decided that he needed money and help from the West, Lenin launched his New Economic Policy in the early 1920s. The West was enchanted then, too. The sinking Soviet economy was saved with aid from the free world.

All one can say is the West as he craves. China teaches as two important lessons, and though we say how learned one I don't think we have quite learned the other. The first lesson is the emphasis of that great Communist myth according to which war and because between countries is solely the result of the contradictions of capitalism. According to this philosophy, by eliminating capitalism as a source of international peace would be achieved in because socialist countries, having no greed, would not use international tensions to distract attention from domestic problems. Since Afghanistan, Hungary and Poland all had Communist governments at the time of Soviet invasions, people who might have been deceived by this particular bit of Marxist fiction can now see that whatever it is that causes internal tensions it is not capitalism.

The second lesson is that should the need arise, two totalitarian countries can bury the hatchet temporarily as easily as two rival gang bosses on Chicago's south side during prohibition. They can do this rather better than we can make a Mafia war because they don't have to take popular feelings into account. If there is a Paltrow denials that for the time being the party lies in peace with the Soviet Union then overnight it is peace with the Soviet Union. There is no dissonance. Pinned for fear be designated by economic order.

This does not mean that Canada should sever contacts with China. But it does mean that any experts about Deng's new suit—of clothes or ideas—are premature. The enemy in totalitarianism is not a man, and well in the People's Republic of China.

A question of kickbacks

By Michael Clugston

In the beautiful orchard of political patronage, the contract to handle the federal government's projected \$45-million advertising account—the richest in Canada—is one of the sweetest plums. But before the young Mulroney government could announce the winners last week, the prize was seized by controversy. Two Tory businessmen who received the exclusive contract indicated to two reporters that the deal would include channeling surpluses to the Progressive Conservative party in Quebec. Although both men claimed later that they had been misunderstood and immediately denied any wrongdoing, opposition critics called for an acute investigation into how the government buys its advertising. They rightly condemned the deal as the very kind of partisan payoff that Brian Mulroney had repeatedly promised to curtail before he became Prime Minister last September. Declared Liberal House Leader Herb Gray:

"The whole thing raises questions about Mulroney's credibility, since he said he wouldn't be doing things like this." At the center of the storm stood the owners of a new company called Media Canada Inc. which was formed solely to manage the purchase of government advertising—everything from informing old-age pensioners of benefits in a newspaper to promoting sales of Canada Savings Bonds in television commercials. The joint venture was created by Roger Nantel, a Montreal public relations consultant who is one of Mulroney's trusted Quebec advisers, and Pierre Simpson, a Toronto film-maker who secured special access for the Tories during last year's federal election. The controversy began when Nantel was quoted in the Jan. 5 issue of *The Toronto Star* as saying that he was of the party, from Media Canada, "we're going to individuals, but will go to special ones for the sake of the party, like senators with Quebec mandates." Nantel, the newspaper explained, would turn over some of the profits to Blue Thunder, the Quebec counterpart of Ontario's *The Big Blue Machine*. "The debate broadened when a former business partner of Simpson's, Peter Swain, then told *The Globe and Mail* that he had declined to participate in Media Canada because "the terms and conditions proposed were unacceptable." Swain, the party's ad man for



Simpson denies of kickbacks and a questioning of Mulroney's credibility

federal election campaign since 1972, heads the largest media purchasing firm in Canada, Media Buying Services Ltd.

As soon as the stories appeared, however, both Swain and Nantel protested that they had been misunderstood. Nantel explained that what he had meant to say was that healthy profits from the Media Canada contract would simply have allowed him to devote more time to political activities like setting up discussion clubs for Blue Thunder. Media Buying Services had said its intention to Swain in 1980, has dabbled in a variety of media-related projects, including the production of a 1980 satire named *Prime Night*, which Simpson once described as "a teeny-bopper horror film."

Opposition critics, denouncing the whiff of scandal, pressed for more than decade of wrongdoing. Liberalist Don Donnelly wrote to RCMP Commissioner Robert Swenson asking the federal police to investigate the kickback allegations. Other critics focused on the patronage aspect of the

agreement. Supply and Services Minister Harvie Anderson, who awarded the contract, said that he would have told anyone who suggested such an idea to "eff off—it would have ranged before getting to any condition." He said he gave the contract to Nantel and Simpson only because they had a good name in the advertising business. Nantel is the president of Nantel and Anderson, a major corporate communications firm in Quebec. And Simpson, who originally

founded Media Buying Services but sold his interest to Swain in 1980, has dabbled in a variety of media-related projects, including the production of a 1980 satire named *Prime Night*, which Simpson once described as "a teeny-bopper horror film."

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Anderson: no harm done



And New Democratic Party MP Michael Cassidy said it was "clear" that the Liberals got various advertising, promotional, public relations and other kinds of services "free from companies that were doing business with the federal government, or they got them at greatly attractive rates." Added Cassidy: "It looks like the same thing is happening under the Tories and that they have taken to steps at it, despite their promise, to reform the process by which these patronage appointments are dispersed." Before the election Mulroney, then a vocal critic of Liberal patronage, vowed to "take a second look" at partisan government appointments.

In many respects the Tories have not handled the government advertising contract any differently than their predecessors. Last July the Liberal government of Jean Turner granted a \$10-million contract—without seeking competing bids—to Canadian Media Corp., a consortium of four advertising firms. Three of the companies had strong ties to the Liberal party: Pierre Beatty, the then-Tory creative editor who now national revenue minister, headed the Turner government of "slipping low into the Liberal pork barrel." Predictably, one of the five acts of Mulroney's government was to fire the Canadian Media Corp.

The Liberal agency's loss is the new Tory agency's big gain. The \$10 million that the federal government spent in 1983 on selling its services to the public was spread over the combined advertising and promotion of McDonald's fast food chain, Ford Canada, Pepsi-Canada, Canadian Tire and Eaton's retail stores. Before the Tory government of Joe Clark took power in 1979, each department and agency brought its ads separately. However, under Clark, a central "media buying" agency—called the agency of record (AOR)—was used to save money on volume buying of print space or radio time and to co-ordinate federal advertising. When the Liberals returned to power in 1980 they retained Clark's system but hired their own agency of record. As the new AOR, Media Canada Inc., will be paid a fixed price of \$125,000 a month until its first contract expires at the end of the federal fiscal year, March 31, and a new deal is negotiated. While individual government departments choose which agencies they want to compose and conduct their advertising campaigns, Media Canada will negotiate the placement deals to seek economy of scale.

Even though the advertising contract is generally regarded as a financial windfall, the government says the profits are minimal—about \$90,000 a year. Explained André: "They're not going to make a fortune out of it, but obviously it won't do Simpson and Nantel any harm." ◇

Bringing forth a mouse

Last October, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney announced to his senior Ottawa bureaucrats to warn them that a shakedown was on the way. He told reporters afterward that there would be "substantial changes" and that his government would bring "new blood and new ideas" into the civil service. Last week, Mulroney announced what he claimed was "the largest single change of senior personnel in the history of the Canadian public service."

The result was less than impressive. Of 26 appointments (including two announced previously), only 15 involved simply a change of bureau or division. Mulroney appointed a former Liberal official from private business—accountant Michael Bayner, 41—as comptroller-general and revenue minister, ousted the Turner government of "slipping low into the Liberal pork barrel." Predictably, one of the five acts of Mulroney's government was to fire the Canadian Media Corp.

The superficial shuffling of administrators who are largely unknown outside Ottawa, prompted speculation that Mulroney had simply put off major renovation of the federal bureaucracy until later in his year. A senior aide said that Mulroney wanted to shake up the mandarins "in a way that was not partisan or punitive." These terms were applied to the names of Mulroney's closest confidants: Robert Mulroney, the assistant treasury secretary who was seen as a villain by western Canadian petroleum interests for his role in the development of the 1980 National Energy Program. But the names Bayner were not of course Mulroney, were "to show a sharp contrast to the normal that from time to time

there's a shakedown of people and ideas and policies."

At best, some of the changes were lateral moves for civil servants who had been in favour during former prime minister Pierre Trudeau's period in office. Sylvia Ostry, 57, who has held top economic posts in Ottawa since with the Paris-based Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, was named the Ottawa-based ambassador for multilateral trade negotiations and Mulroney's personal representative for the upcoming international economic summit from May 2 to 4 in Bonn. Although that move from heavy duties as deputy trade minister and co-ordinator of international economic relations was portrayed as a demotion by some observers, Ostry protested that she was "personally delighted." She told *Maclean's*: "I wanted the change and the Prime Minister called me about it." Dr. Manjiv Mehta, 42, Mulroney's deputy communications minister after serving in a more prestigious role as deputy for foreign policy in the external affairs department, followed Ostry to Ottawa. In the meantime, 41, ousted the deputy's post in communications to take the equivalent position in the less influential office of secretary of cabinet.

Mulroney kept Gordon Osobodenko, 54, in his powerful job as clerk of the Privy Council and Secretary to the Cabinet—though Osobodenko has let it be known that he plans to resign before the end of the year. According to senior political aides, the deputies in the departments of the federal bureaucracy—Marshall (Hockey) Cohen, 48, and Paul Teller, 46—were judged better left in place while the government prepares a March budget and enters an energy negotiations with the provinces. Observers say that a modest summer shuffling of top mandarins, which could include replacement of Osobodenko and Bank of Canada governor Gerald Bory, 64, would more clearly define the personal stamp the Mulroney government wants to put on the civil service.

—TERRY HARGREAVES in Ottawa

Ostry: lateral move



A corporal on trial



Lortie, heavily armed

On the morning of May 8 last year, a heavily armed man entered the Quebec national assembly and opened fire. Three people died, and 23 were wounded. Last week Canadian Armed Forces Capt. Denis Lortie, 35, went on trial in Quebec Superior Court on those murder counts arising from the attack. The jury was shown two autobiographies and a partial transcript of a lecture originally designed in 1959 as a refuge in case of attack for the Canadian cabinet at Camp Orlé, outside Ottawa, where Lortie worked as a supply clerk. Corp. gazed Cpl. Jean-François Fortin said that he was unable to enter the packed Lortie courtroom when he left the bunker and cited the 1982 Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which states, "Everyone has the right to be secure against unreasonable search and seizure." Capt. Fran Alexander of the Camp base explained, "It is not official policy not to search anybody unless they seem suspicious."

Disclosing arms secrets

When the last nuclear weapon based on Canadian and—about 55 nuclear-tipped Genie air-to-air rockets—were returned to the United States last July, press groups noticed that Canada would not be free of involvement in nuclear arms as long as missile-equipped U.S. submarines continued to use its ports. William Arkin, director of nuclear weapons research at the Washington-based Institute of Policy Studies, underscored that point recently when he told *The Toronto Star* (see page 4) that he had obtained a classified memo from Reagan provided for the dispatch of 28 U.S. nuclear depth charges to Canadian Forces bases at Greenwood, N.S., and Comox, B.C., in periods when U.S. forces are in a state of "advanced readiness." Arkin said there are other destinations for the autonomous weapons, including Iceland, Spain and Diego Garcia, a tiny British island in the Indian Ocean. Last week Defense Minister Robert Coates denied that any such thing would happen and added that Arkin was "not to lunch." But in his denial, Coates became the first Canadian government official to confirm something that had only been hinted at in the past. He added that under a secret Canada-U.S. defense agreement signed in 1967, the U.S. Navy was allowed to store nuclear submarine weapons in Argentina, Nifal, for three years before closing its base there in 1970, when the agreement "went down the tubes."

Political mudslinging

When the race began 15 weeks ago to see who will succeed William Davis as Ontario premier and provincial Conservative party leader, the four competing cabinet ministers reached a copy agreement: a brief—no more of party unity—any serious debate or key issues. But the unspoken mood of the campaign was shattered last week by a flurry of allegations followed by an unqualified apology. It began when Attorney-General Ray McMurtry, whose campaign has been slumping, announced that he had received telephone calls reporting that one or more of his opponents were offering deleterious patronage jobs and expense money in

return for their support at the party's Jan. 26 to 28 leadership convention in Toronto. Then candidate Larry Grossman, the provincial treasurer, charged that people working for federal Minister Francis Miller, the front runner in the race, had been offering to pay delegates' expenses to the convention, which include a \$703 registration fee. While the campaign was not yet "rampant with vote buying," said Grossman, it was beginning to be, "at least in some quarters." Stung by the allegations, Miller accused McMurtry of resorting to "innuendo" and Grossman of firing the "first really dirty shot" in the campaign. He challenged his two rivals to name delegates who had been offered expense money. At week's end, Grossman backed down. He admitted that he had no proof to support the "rumor" he had heard and apologized for upsetting Miller. "I never thought he'd be party to" vote buying, Grossman said. "I don't think Frank would tolerate, encourage or be happy with it."

Corrective measures

Cherene Warren killed his wife and two children, told them he loved them and drove away from his St. Catharines, Ont., home in his company car. Minutes later, on a lonely country road, according to police, the 31-year-old sales manager for a plumbing firm's fire caused himself with gasoline and started his cigarette lighter, three hours later. Warren's dead and almost unrecognizable body was found in the gutted car. His grisly suicide came after police earlier in the day charged Warren and 35 other men, including a mailman and a bank manager, with gross indecency in a public washroom in St. Catharines. Police played a hidden video camera in the men's washroom in a local shopping plaza after a restaurant owner complained last October about the sexually explicit notes and graffiti her customers had found there. Five years ago police dealt with the same situation—in the same washroom—by approaching suspects and telling them to stop their activities. But this time they installed a hidden video camera. For a week, they waited until after Christmas to lay 15 undercover indecency charges. "I would like to see some method introduced for dealing with this type of offenders rather than giving the Criminal Code," said Deputy Cpl. Martin Walsh. But on the last month, he added, "police have no other alternative but to take corrective measures."

A quiet respite

In 1981, Mary Beth Dells was campaigning for a Manitoba legislature seat when she underwent surgery for breast cancer. Dells won and assumed her seat as an NDP back-bench or while making nine months of absenteeism. Then in 1982, with the disease stable, Dells was named labor minister. Last Premier Howard Pawley's cabinet last year she introduced reforms that made pension transferable from job to job and removed sex discrimination from the calculation of benefits. But last week Dells announced that she was resigning because her cancer had become active again. "I have now reached the point where I have to make a choice," the mother of three told reporters. "When there is a certain amount of strength to be expended, you decide your priorities."

Dells, politician

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Changing course in Quebec

By Anthony Wilson-Smith

The one-sentence statement was less than 10 minutes after the Quebecer within minutes of the mid-morning release last Friday, Premier René Lévesque, according to an announcement from his office, had returned "earlier than scheduled" from a Caribbean vacation and was undergoing medical tests at Quebec City's Saint-Joseph hospital. Within hours more than 50 journalists jammed the lobby of the aging, yellow-brick hospital building as visitors viewed the then 62-year-old premier who was suffering from lung cancer, a severe nervous disorder—or both. Then, there were reports that Lévesque's son, Pierre, his daughter, Suzanne, and Quebec Vice-Premier Mario-Armand Béland were rushing to his side. Suddenly, only a week before his badly divided Parti Québécois was scheduled to meet in a crucially important convention, 14 members—and thousands of other Quebecers—shared a common concern for the future of the controversial man many call *le Vieux*.

Dramatic, in fact, although gossip-filled reports suggested Lévesque had been rushed to hospital Tuesday night from a government jet dispatched to bring him home, the facts were less dramatic. The premier, who has had trouble sleeping recently because of recurring back problems, complained of dizziness while on vacation with his wife, Corinne, in a two-room suite at the 15-acre Silver Sands Resort in Christchurch, Barbados. Last Tuesday Lévesque took a regularly scheduled "business" flight home, and in the next few days he attended several meetings. By Thursday night the dizziness had become such a problem that Lévesque—who loses his hospital—checked into the Saint-Joseph for tests, including doctors. "I want to leave here as soon as possible," he then admitted to his first rigorous checkup in almost 50 years, including a brain scan, blood tests, an electrocardiogram and lung X-rays.

Less than 24 hours later hospital doctors Pierre Langlois and Jean-François Beuchard said that the premier was suffering from "overwork." The premier, said the doctors, had "no serious diseases"—no detected pathology. Beuchard said Lévesque's health for a man over 60 was "in the upper 10 per cent," while Langlois admitted that he



"did not have the nerve" is a suggestion to the premier that he quit smoking. The doctors' prescription was simply "two or three days of complete rest."

Scepticism: Yet that alone bill of health did not remove all doubts. The air of drama created by Lévesque's sudden return from Barbados and by the fact that family members had gone to his bedside led some to think that something more might be wrong with the premier. "Without putting into doubt the quality and ennoblement of the medical bulletin," noted the Montreal newspaper *La Presse* in a lead editorial, "citizens and journalists cannot help having a

tion on the issue, coupled with his emphasis on performance in the national assembly recently and the concerns about his health, have led some Quebecers to urge him to resign and avoid making a disaster for the party at the polls. Not only that, some angry dissidents are discussing the possibility of forming a new party of "true" separatists that would seek the support of the 15 to 20 per cent of Quebec voters who traditionally oppose independence.

Proposing to dissolve the independence issue was a final painful admission by Lévesque and other party leaders that, after over eight years in power, the ideal

tween Ottawa and Quebec City and widely altering the political realities facing francophone minorities in other provinces. But for Quebec sovereigntists, it is a time to mourn the passing of an era. Declared Montreal playwright Michel Tremblay: "It took 100 years to wake up, and now we seem to be going back to sleep. I don't even dare consider the future, things are so bad. We had promised our children a society, and we haven't delivered."

The convention seemed likely to form the climax to a bitter debate over sovereignty that has raged within the party since the last election in 1981. In June delegates at a PQ convention approved a motion declaring that in the next election a vote for the PQ would be taken as a vote for Quebec sovereignty. But when public opinion polls showed that the party would be crushed at the polls in that event, some internal members argued that the motion should be rejected. With the caucus split, Lévesque declared in November, "Sovereignty must not be at stake, neither wholly nor in parts that are more or less disguised" in the next election. In response in April 1986, the party then scheduled the "extraordinary" national convention meeting then weekend to debate Lévesque's stand.

Stalemate: The premier will almost certainly win support for his position—but not before facing powerful and determined opposition. Since the meeting was announced, a group of key Quebecers—including former cabinet ministers Camille Lévesque, Denise LeBlanc-Berthiaume and Jacques Lévesque—have accused party officials of manipulating convention regulations in Lévesque's favor. LeBlanc-Berthiaume has recently articulated plans to limit discussion on the sovereignty motion to 90 minutes, while she and Lévesque both

commanded a party decision to vote on the issue with a show of hands, rather than by secret ballot. Declared LeBlanc-Berthiaume last week "I cannot believe it. They [the convention organizers] have adopted a steamroller strategy."

The immediate problem facing Lévesque is whether he can emerge from the meeting with an effective strategy to govern the provinces. Declared opposition Liberal Leader Robert Bourassa: "Before he can take any of the province, René has to show us he is capable of



Partisanship struggling against a mood of moderation in a populace with new pride

feeling of sleepiness."

As that uncertainty lingered, officials resumed preparations for a bitter battle that is expected this weekend when the party meets for a historic convention at Montreal's Palais des Congrès—at which Lévesque is likely to be the principal target. At Lévesque's urging, about 70 per cent of the more than 1,000 delegates from across the province who are expected at the convention are likely to vote on Saturday, Jan. 18, to petition any minister of independence at the next provincial election, which could be held as early as April. Even some loyal Quebecers acknowledge that if the next election becomes the third consecutive one in which the PQ has chosen not to discuss independence, it could mean the end of the party as an authentic representative of the province's separatist forces.

Lévesque's retreat from independence has already caused a damaging cleavage within the PQ. In November nine cabinet ministers and backbenchers split with Lévesque over the issue. At the same time, the premier's own shifting posi-

tion of building a new nation remains a distant dream. Instead, they appear intent on transforming the PQ into a moderate left-of-centre party whose primary goal is to cling to power.

The collapse of separatism as a mainstream political force in the province is a result of harsh economic realities, an aging Quebec population and—paradoxically—the achievements of the nationalist thrust in Quebec over the past 18 years. Those achievements appear to have convinced many Quebecers that they can advance their social and cultural causes within Confederation.

The effects of separatism's collapse are already reverberating across Canada, creating a notable improvement in relations be-

Johnson: a new direction



mind his own house." That will be difficult. Although the PQ won 80 of the provincial assembly's 122 seats in the election of April 15, 1988, realignments and by-election losses have reduced the party's total to 50 seats—leaving it a 10-seat majority over the combined opposition of all Liberals and all independents, with 70 seats vacant. At the same time, several back-bench PQ members have declared privately that they would resign from the party after the convention if the independence issue is shelved. Alarmed by his government's growing unpopularity in the assembly, Lévesque could be forced to initiate a special election, which Bourassa's resurgent Liberals might win.

Even if there are no further defections, Bourassa's government—and the PQ itself—retain little of the energy and political weight it once possessed. Without the coffee label in Quebec sovereignty that united its members in the past, the party is only an uneasy coalition of conservatives and socialists, with little in common. As well, the defections from Lévesque's cabinet reflect his government of two of the most popular and capable figures—Laurin and former finance minister Jacques Parizeau. An author of Quebec's controversial Bill 101, which in 1977 made French the sole official language of Quebec, Laurin emerged for many Quebecers as a symbol of change.

Velvet Laurin remains a party member—although he has indicated that he may leave the PQ ahead of the convention. For his part, Parizeau, who in the past was regarded as a likely successor to Lévesque, appears to have abandoned politics completely. Now, the most likely successor to Lévesque is the former minister of justice and intergovernmental affairs, Pierre Marc Duchesne, who is regarded as Lévesque's personal choice—but who sovereigntists in the party suspect of being a thinly veiled federalist (page 20).

Apart from the independence option, a second crucial issue preoccupies PQers: when will Lévesque step down? Until last year most insiders assumed that the premier could stay as an leader of the party he cofounded for as long as he wished. Now, for the first time, Lévesque faces open opposition to his leadership. Last week Quebecers' Mainline, a member of the party's executive council, in a letter to the Montreal newspaper *Le Presse* compared Lévesque to France's authoritarian 17th-century "Sun King." Louis XV officials in several PQ riding associations have suggested that Lévesque should resign. Even some PQers who support the premier on the independence issue privately agree. As a result, there is widespread specu-

lation in Quebec City that resignation of the outcasts of the convention Lévesque may step down soon, leaving Duchesne to lead the party into upcoming elections. The premier's recent erratic behavior and health problems have added credibility to the rumor. But personally, Lévesque appeared to be well during his Barbados holiday. "He was very funny and amusing," reported Aubrey Gross, manager of the Silver Sands Beach. "He was quite a bit, died around and went on island tours. He enjoyed watching the tourists. At



Tremblay, in dispute for a lost dream

re time did he ever have to see a doctor. He enjoyed himself and I thought that he was totally relaxed."

But, Lévesque's political decline mirrors the descent of his party's fortunes—and the fact that the PQ's internal debate may well be irrelevant to large numbers of Quebecers. When a meeting was called to discuss the independence issue in Lévesque's own Trois-Rivières on Montreal's South Shore last month, only about 100 of the riding's 1,300 registered party members turned up. But the most telling sign of the PQ's decline is the fact that party membership has dropped from a high of almost 200,000 three years ago to a current official total

of 113,000. In the meantime, the Liberals have been gaining in popularity while the PQ, through most of its current term of office, has remained at between 30 and 38 per cent support in public opinion polls, down from a high of 49 per cent in the 1981 election.

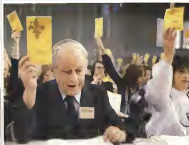
Much of that drop was a result of the PQ's economic strategies. In the past 2½ years the party passed a series of severe austerity measures that rolled back the salaries of provincial civil servants, halved labor negotiations in the public sector and suspended guarantees in both the Quebec and federal charters of rights for anyone defying the legislation. Those legislative blows ended the party's image as a social democratic movement and alienated the province's powerful, and once staunchly pro-PQ, labor movement.

Change: To an even greater extent, the Parti Québécois has been a victim of political, social and economic change—many fostered by the party itself—that have overtaken Quebec. The 1980s had witnessed the birth of multi-ethnic Quebec separatism in the Front de libération du Québec, which launched a series of sporadic bombings and terrorist incidents that culminated in political kidnappings and murder in the 1970s. Then, in 1987, Lévesque, an opposition Liberal back-bencher, led a group of moderate separatist supporters out of the party and formed the Mouvement Souveraineté-Association (MSA), which espoused political independence for Quebec, coupled with economic association with the rest of Canada. A year later the MSA, which had an initial following of a smaller right-wing party to form the PQ. In the coming years the PQ has increased its share of the popular vote in each general election, winning 26 per cent in 1970, 35 per cent in 1976, 41 per cent in 1980, and 49 per cent in 1981.

But the political event that set in train the party's decline took place in May, 1986. After a bitterly fought referendum campaign in which former prime minister Pierre Trudeau lent his personal leadership to the federalist cause, Quebecers rejected Lévesque's independence option. Fully 59.6 per cent of voters said no to the premier's request for a mandate to negotiate with Ottawa for political sovereignty coupled with a continuing economic association with Canada.

In the wake of the defeat, an almost palpable change in political attitudes could be felt in Quebec. Bourassa, who campaigned for the federalist side in the referendum, said: "After it was over, it was almost like letting the air out of a tire."

So that end, the deep economic recession of 1982-83, combined with the more conservative goals of Quebec voters, loosened the PQ grip as young, urban,



Lévesque at 1982 PQ convention: an almost palpable change in political attitudes

college-educated voters. Explained 27-year-old Gilles Baril, a PQ member of the national assembly: "The preoccupations of people are age are different than they were a few years ago. We have had that recession, and we need very a lot work before anything else. And we must also worry about the state of the whole world—and if we will still have a world to live in several years from now. The feeling among many is that independence is something for another day." As a result, with virtually no young politicians taking up the separatist cause, it is now the older generation that makes up the party. Mosted Liberal converts sociologist Fernand Dumont. "Right now, I do not think there are many people under 30 years of age who are ready to fight for independence."

Isolation: Increasingly, Quebecers are satisfying their nationalist aspirations by taking greater control of the province's economy. "Nationalism is not a state of affairs," said Rodrigue Tremblay, a former minister of industry and commerce under Lévesque and now a University of Montreal economics professor. "It is now taking the shape of individual initiatives." The introduction of Bill 131, which established French as the language of work in Quebec, caused scores of English-speaking firms to leave the province—but that created new opportunities for francophones. Businessmen say that the new francophone entrepreneurs are increasingly confident and eager to expand—in any language.

Private language schools across the province report that record numbers of francophones are signing up for English lessons. Said François Paradis, presi-

dent of the Quebec Chamber of Commerce: "The involvement of French-Canadians in the business world has helped bring about this mature behavior. They gained confidence in themselves and use that their performance was equivalent, or even superior at times, to that of the anglophones."

Many young francophones now seek to emulate such figures as Paul Desmarais, chairman of the mighty Montreal-based Power Corp., and Pierre Lortie, president of the Montreal Stix Exchange. "For many young people, these

Francophones having the last page on a romantic chapter



are the new heroes," said Robert Bourassa, who spends much of his time visiting college campuses. Bourassa says that he has also noticed a darker side to the phenomenon. "Many young people appear to be disoriented. They seem to have little interest in anything."

Voteless: Bourassa himself will have to contend with other political problems if the PQ decides to make a final retreat from independence. For one thing, a poll late last year by Montreal's *Journal* Inc. showed the Liberals with a comfortable 55-to-35-per-cent lead over the PQ, but that lead dropped to only nine points when respondents were asked how they would vote if the PQ independence issue. Liberal anglophones insist that their own polls indicate that most Quebecers respect Bourassa's ambition as a politician, but they also admit that he is not personally popular—and that he could be vulnerable in a campaign against a newly emboldened PQ leader.

The provincial Liberals are also concerned by the fact that Quebec voters have largely abandoned their long-standing support of the federal Liberal party to return 58 Conservative MPs to Parliament in the Sept. 4 federal election. Although Bourassa is a close friend of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, some observers contend that the federal Tories might prefer to deal with the PQ in negotiations before Quebec, into accord with Canada's 1982 Constitution. The reason, Lévesque has indicated that he would not push for a Quebec vote in future Confederation amendments before signing the constitution. Bourassa is on record as arguing that a veto right

is essential. Moreover, some Mulroney advisers say that they would suffer less political damage if they fail to come to an agreement with the PQ than with the federalist Liberals. As a result, even though Mulroney invites Bourassa as the next premier of Quebec, the Tories will almost certainly stay neutral during the province's next election.

The new possibility of an accord between the PQ and Ottawa's indication of another winning change that has taken place in Quebec politics. By last year, relations between Lévesque and Pierre Trudeau and their respective governments had deteriorated to the point where they had agreed to meet and agree to meet. But Mulroney recognized that Quebecers no longer had a taste for confrontational politics and he capitalized on the desire for reconciliation. His overtures have been returned by the PQ. Said Pierre Harvey, a former party program adviser and Lévesque confidant:

It takes two to make a war. If Ottawa makes a conciliatory move it is no reason why Quebec should not respond. By contrast, said Harvey, Trudeau was "a political monster."

Blackmail power: The decline of the separatist movement is likely to be welcomed by most Canadians, but francophones in Quebec have had a variety of mixed reactions. On the one hand, some francophone leaders in Montreal, Ottawa and New Brunswick contend that as long as the PQ pushed its independence option, Ottawa was more likely to try to placate the separatists. "We have to try to placate neither the francophones," said Cloutier, past president of the Association Canadienne-Française de l'Ontario, "nor the separatists." On the other hand, some francophones within the framework of Canada, without it, we are now worried that Quebec may lose its Blackmail power." Still, other francophones in Quebec and elsewhere in the movement see a positive development. Gilbert Pivieux, president of the Société Franco-Manitobaine, for one, says that the evolution of the PQ "toward a really separatist trend to a position of a movement that is not going to be able to do anything other than available to us."

In the end, Lévesque's desire to purge the PQ of its separatist leaning may only reflect the fact that the premier himself has always displayed a profound ambivalence on the prospects of separating Quebec from Canada. In the past, hard-line sovereigntists have recognized Lévesque as the only man capable of winning over Quebecers to their dream. But they consistently questioned his own commitment to independence. According to novelist Yvon Beauchemin, Lévesque has given the independence



D'Alema says when Quebec's history, nationalism will make a comeback

movement. Testaments of his own personality moderate, compressing. By transforming it into a political party, he turned the last page of the romantic and idealistic phase." But, added Benoit, "Lévesque has an extraordinary quality to feel the feelings of the Québécois. It is unfair to judge him too severely. I think he was perhaps the only political figure Quebec could produce under the circumstances."

Lingering loyalty: Indeed, Lévesque carried his ambivalence into what will

Save a leader's true purpose



likely to be the last great battle on the independence question. But it is a measure of his political strength that even some of the sovereigntists who feel that the premier has betrayed them still feel a lingering loyalty. "I still have respect, even affection for Lalonde," said Andre D'Alemaire, a veteran Quebec separatist. "But he did not understand the necessity to fight our opponents." Others are less forgiving. Said political writer Ross Roy: "Everything has to be done all over again, because the idea of independence was captured by a brilliant imposter."

If conservative demagogues agree to challenge the separatist plank, that could mark the beginning of the PQ's evolution into a nationalistic party that will begin to attract a wider base of support. In the meantime, Confederation, while hard-liners break away to form a new separatist party, Cultural Commissioner Minister Gerald Goggin, a prominent Lévesque supporter, said Monday: "It would not be the end of the world if we ended up staying in Canada with the PQ." But he also said that a drug, say Lévesque might push the province in that direction by pulling his party away from independence as one of its least political aims may appear as a support political crutch. But even after next weekend the hundreds of thousands of Quebecers who continue to believe in the "sovereignty" will suggest to their leaders—with or without Lévesque to lead them.

With Catherine Cook in Fredericton, Patricia Pleinopoulou in Quebec City, Michael Chaston and Terry Hargreaves in Ottawa, Ann Walsaby in Toronto and Gerry Blair in Winnipeg.

The man most likely to succeed

By Alycia Amberouise

As a key minister in José Leizaola's cabinet for the first 70 years, Ferrer Marc Johnson typically opposed the standard PNV line—known as the *caso*—and as a result, he was often called the "black sheep" of the party. But recently, Johnson, who holds both the justice and interior-minister portfolios, has tended to support Leizaola's subject, and the far-right language press, over the more moderate, left-leaning, conservative federalist. Within the cabinet, Johnson has approached the current movement that toppled Leizaola—at the risk of destroying the party—to drive the rule of the *caso* out of the country, and to replace it with a novel, the brilliant and sometimes naive, argument of the late Unice Nacionalista writer José Díez, Johnson has emerged as the man most likely to succeed Leizaola as leader of a far transformed state, once the separatist party, some say, has outlived the *caso* he fathered.

Anglican cleric: Reviled by hard-core separatists within the party, the 28-year-old Johnson still supports the P.Q.'s motto: "Quebecers first, Canadians second." He does support the party's position with Quebec: "If no other accommodations can be reached that will satisfy the province's cultural and linguistic aspirations. But that's not where we need to go. We need to go to the heart of the matter, to the independence of the province and to the fact that the province and Canada "have something profound in common" and that Quebec "belongs in the family of nations as Quebecers." The province is recognized and appreciated." The former of Brian Mulroney's Conservative federal government last September, Johnson adds, could—if negotiations to the 1992 Constitution prove fruitful—be that question needed to keep Quebec in Confederation. At the same time, Johnson declared that if the other provinces do not agree to the 1992 Constitution, the desire to break with Canada will not go away. Still Johnson: "If Quebecers decide one day to become a sovereign nation, I don't intend to change that."

If the forces of moderation prevail at this weekend's convention and the PQ temporarily sets aside its separatist philosophy, Johnson intends to actively pursue a new constitutional accord. To that end, he said that he will contact his provincial counterparts to explore terms and conditions that might allow Quebec to sign the existing Constitution. As well as improving the PQ's chances of re-election, a rapprochement with the rest of Canada would almost

certainly solidify Johnson's position as the next leader of the party. In a poll conducted last year, 46 per cent of Quebecers polled preferred Johnson as Lévesque's successor, compared to the only 10 per cent who backed former finance minister and independence hard-liner Jacques Parizeau.

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1980 as part of the the Lévesque government's campaign to reduce government spending.

Esquevin: Married since 1878 to the former Marie-Louise Parent of Vancouver, the Johnsons and their two children—Marie-Claude, 4, and Marc-Olivier, 7, are generally a two-toned family. Outrigger is Montreal Tall, with ivory-grey hair and a grin that dispenses his relative youth. Johnson, in contrast to the unpredictable Lévesque, is a poised and authoritative politician with a calm and somewhat aloof speaking style. On the other hand, Johnson is often criticised for his starchy manner and for giving the impression that he is somehow remote from the concerns of ordinary Quebecers. "There is a certain self-strait from old-time to politics," noted Liberal MHA John Groulx. "He doesn't seem to have the capacity to deal with life's problems, whereas Lévesque is syncretistic and is able to understand." In the past, Johnson's separatist colleagues in the PQ have suspected him of being a mere opportunist whose political views can easily be swayed to conform with the prevailing popular mood. But he retains a deep belief in the need for Quebecers to assert their cultural identity.

In a New Year's Eve broadcast, when a television reporter asked members of the Parti Québécois what they wanted Quebecers to have in 1985, most responded with platitudes about jobs, prosperity and peace. To that, Johnson added the word "pride." As a future leader of the Parti Québécois, Johnson might well keep the party's separatist option on the shelf, but he would also be a dedicated defender of the province's right to a special place within Confederation. "My allegiance," he once observed, "is to the people of Quebec."



Johnson: assertion of cultural identity

His wife married a Quilbecker, Johnson and his older brother, Daniel, 40—who sits in the national assembly as a Liberal—grew up in the politically charged atmosphere of their father's household. After taking a law degree from the University of Montreal and a degree in medicine from the University of Edinburgh, Johnson was studying law in Montreal in 1970 when the *rugue vive* brought troops and tanks into the streets of Montreal—a spectacle that outraged him. Elected to the national assembly as a Progressive in 1976, Johnson became labor minister in Lévesque's

An enduring love-hate relationship

ESSAY

By Pierre Bourgois

A *friend, steadfast separatist* in the 1960s, Pierre Bourgois, then left the left wing Rassemblement pour l'Indépendance until it was absorbed into the Parti Québécois in 1985 and René Lévesque replaced Bourgois as leader of Québec's separatists. After breaking with Lévesque in 1974, Bourgois, now a professor of communications at the University of Québec at Montréal, emerged as a bitter critic of the PQ.

Four years ago the Parti Québécois had a membership of more than 380,000. It is now closer to 130,000, and by next week it could be down to a mere 10,000 or so after a weary René Lévesque's almost certain victory at this weekend's special party convention. Such a victory will ensure the silencing of those within the PQ who will believe in the party's independence platform.

End of a dream. End of an era. End of René Lévesque, who will be left with the remains of a once powerful and creative party, now an empty shell, a mere caricature of itself, a cheap electoral machine at the service of his supporters' ignorance. Pierre Marc Johnson, that will be Lévesque's ultimate victory—the destruction of his own party.

No one will be left to oppose him any more. Friends and foes alike have departed already, leaving Lévesque alone to fight his own demons, who resented him all along the path leading to this great political disaster.

It all started more than 20 years ago with the death of the activist Premier Maurice Duplessis. Soon after, Liberal Jean Lesage took power in Québec and put in motion the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s that would bring Québec into the 20th century. At the same time, Québec witnessed the emergence of the separatist movement. That acquired a certain momentum of its own, feeding on each other and pursuing the same political constituency. But their objectives were very different. Though they were to a certain extent seduced by some of the aims and projects of the Quiet Revolution, the leaders of the separatist movement knew that they had to make Québec independent in order to fully realize their ultimate economic and cultural objectives.

Lévesque as a cabinet minister under Lesage was very much a part of the Quiet Revolution—and was perceived by some as being its inspiration. He was even an idol to many separatists, but at the same time he had become their enemy, since he reneged their own nationalist ground without sharing their brand of nationalism.

For that reason Lévesque was loved and courted, hated and

denounced by Québec nationalists. This love-hate relationship was to endure through the political upheavals that brought the PQ into existence in the late 1960s and to power in 1985, and would continue to exist until very recently. This must be noted: many attracted themselves to his party, and it became powerful, creative, and sophisticated. No one noticed, but that is also when it started to disintegrate. Lévesque was the accidental leader. He always was.

Yet some of his followers wondered over the years. They wondered whether Lévesque was a separatist, or was the answer was just no and no. Sometimes yes, sometimes no. The confusion was there, but most militants did not want to see it. Lévesque speaks in New York; yes, he is a separatist. Lévesque speaks in Toronto; no, he's not.

Today it is possible to see that all along Lévesque was on the wrong track with the wrong people. He was still pursuing the Quiet Revolution while his troops wanted something else. It took him 10 years to dispose his will on people who wanted something else. It all goes back to a very big mistake that happened at the beginning of the separatist movement. Lévesque and they incorporated it in René Lévesque. But he had different ideas at different times. The truth is that Lévesque tried to deal with separatism because the idea seduced him, but in the end he lacked the guts to do it. And in the end he betrayed himself. What now?

Well, things are back to normal. English Canada isn't concerned with Québec-watching separatists. Trudeau is gone, Lévesque is gone, and the separatist movement is dead. These who really believed in it feel that they have been betrayed. They are not getting younger anyway. They will not be back, except for a few nostalgic fighters who refuse to accept defeat. Today Québec is a politically depressed society. But it is not dead—far from it.

Québec is still creative, vibrant and very different. But Québecers have become cynical about politics. The grounds of creation and fervor are not entered or politics anymore.

What will become of the Parti Québécois? Well, it is Lévesque's creation. It tried to become something else, something desperately, but it failed. It has now become Lévesque's toy and a very small toy indeed. It may not exist.

Some may want to found yet another separatist party. But who will join? Who will follow? Who will have confidence enough? I don't believe it can work. Not in 15 or 20 years maybe. When a new generation discovers that the problem has not been solved.

Should we call it a tragic story or an ironic tragedy? I call it a mess.



1980 referendum rally now, nostalgic picture

COVER

Lifting a siege mentality

By Bruce Wallace

When Alliance Québec, the province's English-language rights lobby, named a new executive director last year, there was consternation in some anglophone quarters over the choice of Vaughan Davis, 34, a social services community organizer who had openly supported the Québécois in the 1980 referendum on Québec sovereignty. But the barons rallied, and now the appointment of Davis—he later re-

would appeal. But the modest newspaper headlines and muted reaction that the judgment provoked reflected the fact that, after a decade and a half, Québecers are weary of the language wars.

If, in spite of that, many anglophones still feel uneasy about the vulnerability of their minority status, they are at least learning to laugh at their predicament. One of the province's best-selling books in English last year was *The Anglo-Quebecer's Survival* in Québec, a satirical



Plottie, a representative of circumstances that would have been unthinkable even a decade ago

look book at the place of anglophones in the "new" Québec. Typically, the authors advised readers that "it's not easy being an anglophone. French Québecers think that you are as passionate as a new lion, and you can't even give a quart of milk without worrying that your family will move to Toronto."

Despite the new and more tolerant mood in Québec, a steady exodus of anglophones still hastens the survival of Québec's English-speaking necessity. As recently as 1971, 147 per cent of Québecers listed English as their first language. But as language tensions grew during the early 1970s anglophones began leaving Québec for other provinces. After the Parti Québécois took office in 1976, five more years of anglophone emigration reduced the province's English-speaking constituency to 369,000—or 12.1 per cent of the population. Some anglophones believe

that may not have been a bad thing. René St-James, an anglophone Liberal member of the national assembly, admits that those who were "the more biterly" opposed to assertion of Québécois culture and language put out and that "the modes was a convenient safety valve for potentially fatal elements" in the English-speaking community.

Paris: As Québec anglophones have deserted their old neighborhoods across the province, French-speaking Québecers have moved in—and in the process helped to break down the two-societies tradition that separated the language groups. The experience of emigrating means that René Plottie is typical. Plottie grew up in the English-speaking environment of east-end Montréal but

moved to Montréal West—then a small, almost exclusively anglophone neighborhood—when he was 12. He grew up in the English-speaking environment in the past decade on by the 1985 Parti Québécois election victory. Since then the percentage of francophones living in Montréal West has risen from less than one per cent to 65 per cent, and Plottie is now the town's finance commissioner—something that would have been unthinkable even a decade ago.

Similar changes have shaken other anglophone enclaves in the Eastern Townships, the English-speaking population there stood at 12 per cent in 1971—dropped to 8.5 per cent in 1981. "But there is linguistic peace," notes Marjorie Goodfellow, president of a Sherbrooke-based English-rights group, the Townships' Association. "We have evolved from perceiving ourselves as part of the English-Canadian majority to learning to live naturally and winfully as a minority."

Though the flight of anglophones has slowed, English-speaking Québecers are still worried about the future of their community. A recently published study by University of Montréal demographer Jacques Lévesque forecast that if anglophones continue to leave Québec at the same rate as they did between 1971 and 1981, the English community will disappear within 50 years. Even though that seems unlikely, some new thinkers believe that anglophones in Québec will have to emigrate to be saved if they are to preserve their community. "Our leaders and our children are still leaving," he says, "and we are going to have to battle even harder to save our institutions." □

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Beginning anew in Brazil

By Ross Lexter

By tradition, the weeks between New Year's Day and mid-February are a time of national celebration throughout Brazil. Everywhere South America's high summer break, millions of Brazilians flock to beaches of brilliant white sand under a tropical sun. In Rio de Janeiro, brightly costumed revellers sing and dance through the night to the pulsating beat of samba bands, printing their intricate steps for the aerial parade down Rio's "Sambadrome" Avenue in the climax of the city's pre- Lenten carnival. This year, the nation has an additional reason to celebrate. Along with the usual holiday festivities, the southern summer of 1985 marks the return to democracy in a country that for nearly 31 years has been ruled by military dictators.

Indeed, the military's retreat from government has created a mood of public optimism across Latin America's largest and most powerful country. This week, in a landmark presidential election, 614 congressmen and state representatives will meet under the glare of television floodlights in Brazil's Chamber of Deputies to choose the nation's first civilian leader since democracy was suspended in 1964. With that, Brazil will become the sixth Latin American nation to convert from dictatorship to democracy since 1980.

The week's sole representative only a partial fulfillment of the military's 1979 pledge to open up the political process to public participation. Many Brazilians had hoped to cast their own ballots directly for a successor to departing President João Baptista Figueiredo, 67, a retired army general whose policy of *abertura*—Portuguese for opening—has guided his country's gradual political liberalization. But in a nation traditionally deprived of federal elections, even an indirect election seems welcome.

One reason for the widespread acceptance of the voting process is the almost certain victory of Tancredino de Almeida Neves, 74, a master political insider with a patterned, middle-of-the-road image. A

career politician who leads the country's main opposition group, the Brazilian Democratic Movement Party (PMDB), Neves is supported by a broad alliance, ranging from members of Brazil's outlawed Communist parties to bankers and industrialists. Trained as a lawyer in his native state of Minas Gerais, Ne-

gocial legislatures—from whose ranks the electoral college is chosen, do well, the governing party has a 36-cent majority over the combined opposition parties in the college. But at least 600 PMDB legislators pledged their votes to Neves—a testament to his skill in turning bitterly political enemies into promising political allies. Neves' role in a new government, Neves seemed assured of an easy victory on the eve of this week's lifetime vote.

A year ago that outcome seemed impossible. Now, many Brazilians are awaiting on the election of Neves to inaugurate a period of national optimism in a country riven by social and economic inequalities. "Tancredino is the epitome of the Brazilian tradition—the great compromiser," said Fernando Henrique Cardoso, an opposition senator. "There is such a profound national feeling that Tancredino should be president. It is almost as though, in a Catholic sense, he has been blessed by the people." Added José Viera Azevedo, 25, who sells coconut sweets on a São Paulo street corner: "From what we hear, life is going to get better in 1985. I like the look of Tancredino, and the way he speaks."

That would be a welcome development for Brazilian consumers and creditors alike. The country has been in a deep recession since 1980, when years of slowly economic growth and industrialization ended abruptly. Now, Brazil is trying to make repayments on a \$100-billion (US) foreign debt—the largest in the developing world. Inflation last year soared to an annual rate of 20 per cent and the combined unemployment and underemployment rate hit 40 per cent in urban centers.

To ensure that Brazil can afford to pay its debts, the International Monetary Fund has imposed a strict austerity program designed to lower government spending while improving the country's balance of trade. The results so far have been encouraging. Pledges by a 55-per-cent rise in exports, mostly to the United States, the Brazilian economy grew by an estimated four per cent in 1984. In addition, the gradual fall in international

oil interest rates has lowered the cost of servicing Brazil's foreign debt; payments in 1985 are expected to total about \$10.5 billion compared to the \$12 billion originally forecast by the Central Bank of Brazil. Declared was U.S. banker "The turnaround in Brazil's economic fortunes has been spectacular."

Still, the optimism is not shared by the majority of Brazilians. To them, the IMF's prescribed program has only meant lower wages, higher unemployment rates and shortages of important goods. Moreover, in some regions the austerity program has exacerbated what was already a chronically weak local economy. Many economists speak

across businessmen, but the Roman Catholic Church estimates that at least one million people in the drought-ravaged northeast have died of malnutrition since 1979. About 25 million Brazilians live in the northeast, and the region's infant mortality rate is 240 per 1,000 births—roughly three times the national average. Those who survive often remain permanently impaired. Said João Alves Filho, governor of Sergipe state, one of nine states in the region: "We know that children who do not receive adequate food up to the age of 6 suffer permanent shrinkage of the brain and will never attain normal intelligence."

staff worker "The capitalist system here has thrown these people out. It is just like 19th-century industrial England."

Indeed, the severe economic problems were at least partially responsible for the generals' decision to yield power to a civilian government. The declared intentions of the conspirators who seized power in 1964 were to hold down inflation and Brazil's mounting foreign debt—as well as to curb the socialist proposals of toppled president João Goulart. Instead, both inflation and borrowing soared dramatically, while the military's insistence on controlling the levers of economic power gave the country the most centralized economy



Neves: dividing his nation between old and new leaders



At Rio de Janeiro's glittering Copacabana beach a life of privilege in a nation with the world's most uneven income distribution

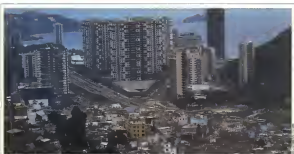
of two separate nations within Brazil's borders—an industrialized, affluent area in the central and southern zones and a deeply impoverished half in the northeast. World Bank statistics show Brazil with the world's most uneven income distribution—the richest 10 per cent of the population controls half the national income. While 88 million Brazilians eat less than the minimum diet recommended by the United Nations, a small but privileged elite can afford gourmet meals at lavish establishments such as Mazon's, the Rio branch of the famed Paris night spot.

At the same time, luxury shopping resorts—where rooms cost \$500 a week and up—enter the wealthy, wealthy con-

Even in São Paulo, the industrial agglomeration that powered Brazil's so-called "economic miracle" of the 1960s and early 1970s, poverty is widespread. A state-run child welfare agency, Unicef, estimates that two million of the city's 13 million inhabitants are needy or abandoned children under 18. Despite their numbers, there is room for only 84,000 destitute children in the bleak walled compound that UNICEF operates. Many of the rest haunt the city's squalid, traffic-choked streets, begging from passing motorists, picking pockets in the crowded central business district or scavenging for food in the favelas, grimy shantytowns that ring the suburbs. Said Cidinha Andrade, a UNICEF

outside of the Soviet Bloc. Directly or indirectly, the government is responsible for more than a third of all economic activity. One Brazilian magazine editor called the foreign debt "Brazil's equivalent of the Falklands conflict"—a reference to Argentina's (unsuccessful) 1982 war with Great Britain which toppled the Argentine military junta and resulted in elected government. Added the editor: "Brazil's debt has totally discredited this military government."

Although not as repressive as military dictatorships in Argentina or Chile, Brazil's record of human rights abuses includes 81 people killed and 65 "disappeared" during a crackdown on



Crowded residential section of Rio de Janeiro as suburban civilian elections jostle with a suspicious military establishment

left-wing guerrillas between 1966 and 1973. Another 16,000 people were killed during the same period, according to Amnesty International. Shortly after taking office in 1979, however, Figueiredo promised "to make a full democracy of this country." Now, then, the aging general—he spent last week confined to a Rio hospital after surgery to remove a slipped disc—has resumed state and municipal elections, relaxed press censorship, ended the suppression of political freedoms and declared an amnesty for many crimes called or stopped of their civil rights by the junta. Explained a U.S. diplomatic observer: "To avoid disillusion, the Brazilian military has had to know when to give. They have held on as long as they feasibly can."

As recently as three months ago, many Brazilians doubted that the army would return to the barracks so willingly. For one thing, the junta had steadfastly rejected popular calls for *diretas já*—direct elections now—fearing that a poll in which Brazilians cast their own ballots would almost certainly result in a left-wing candidate sweeping to power. Then, last October, when it became clear that the electoral college was likely to support Neves, whom the military mistrusted, rumors began circulating in Rio that the junta might attempt to alter the succession rules in an effort to ensure his defeat. Indeed, some senior military officers began talking openly about more overt moves to thwart the durable Neves. "Guys are not panicked, they are carried out," declared José de Menezes Pinho, a far deputy who played a pivotal role in the historic 1964 coup. "And if I had the power in my

hands, I would carry me out now."

But Neves devised ways to defuse the tensions between the old and new regimes. Using a nephew employed by Brazil's tourism department as an intermediary, the open-minded candidate negotiated terms for a peaceful transfer of power. To the military government's planning minister, Antônio DeMelo Netto, Neves offered assurances of continuity in economic policy, including a pledge not to adopt any radical measures aimed at redistributing income. Neves also endorsed the outgoing government's strategy of seeking agreement with Brazil's creditors to postpone repayment of \$30 billion of the country's debt until at least 1990.

To the government's army minister, Gen. Walter Pires, Neves pledged not to sanction reprisals against members of past military regimes. According to some reports, the army officers were

Wish traditional advantages



convinced that a new civilian government in Brazil would follow the example of Argentine President Raúl Alfonsín, S.T., by creating a national commission to investigate and prosecute former junta members for alleged torture and other abuses. Neves may also have privately agreed to forego investigation of a series of simmering corruption scandals involving the Figueiredo government.

Neves's conciliatory and his warm relations with conservative

groups—his running mate, José Sarney, was a former leader of the 1964—have prompted many Brazilians to question his commitment to liberal reform. "I would be willing to discuss if I said that Tancredino will change this country," said left-wing labor leader Luís Inácio de Silva, who refused to join the Neves coalition. "How can a candidate supported by 90 per cent of the bankers and businessmen help the workers?" An unemployed metalworker in São Paulo, Sebastião Aguiar, 54, also expressed concern about the new president's ties to the *corporate*—the network of financiers, industrialists and big landowners who control much of Brazilian life. Said Aguiar: "I support Tancredino, but I do not believe in him very much. He is making lots of promises."

Despite those nagging fears, most Brazilians last week clearly welcomed the end of the military era and looked forward to Neves's arrival on the Planalto, Brazil's presidential palace. But with the army watching carefully, the new president will begin to move quickly to begin fulfilling his country's heady expectations for the future—particularly in the area of narrowing the gap between rich and poor. Otherwise, the tender roots of democracy that Brazil has tentatively put down may not long survive.

With Richard Howe in São Paulo.

Thanks For The Memories.

Baileys. For the moments you treasure.

All my love!
C.W.

A weapons-led export bonanza

With the obligatory Pags and Saneats, Prince Sotias, the Abdi Aziz, Saudi Arabia's defense minister, set down in Brazil's greenest foreign ministry building one year last fall and signed his name to an estimated \$1.2-billion production accord—the largest single arms deal in Brazil's history. Under its terms, the Saudis reportedly agreed to purchase a vast array of weapons—tanks, planes and rocket systems—over the next five years, as well as allow Brazil to set up munitions assembly operations in the Saudi kingdom. At least some of those weapons will ultimately be diverted to Iraq, which Riyadh is supporting in its Persian Gulf war with neighboring

which results to another—that's a weapon set that can't be controlled."

As a result, Brazilian military hardware now complements the arsenal of more than 30 nations allied to East and West alike. The cargo holds of private aircraft flying out of São Paulo's international airport are jammed with everything from single rifles to sophisticated mobile rocket launchers and computer-controlled battle tanks. Accepting trade credits, bartered goods and subcontract work as well as cash in payment, the Brazil has been sold weapons, armored cars to Gabon and hangars for Canada's police forces. Shipping satellites on a videotape ma-

The formula for Brazilian success combine three basic ingredients. First, the military government deliberately avoided direct competition with Washington and Moscow and instead insisted at producing cheap, reliable weapons that government may control in Third World armies. "Our sales growth has been in the sale of complexed robust arms," said Roberto Pereira, editor of the Brazilian journal *Technology and Defense*. "There's no interest in developing advanced technological equipment, because we'd have to confront big and powerful companies and we would lose markets in the developing world."

At the same time, prosperous government subsidies and export credits effectively undercut the rigorous competition. Using such advantages, EMERAR, the state aircraft corporation, last year sold 120 Tucano F-47 fighter planes with Canadian-made Pratt & Whitney engines to Egypt, underbidding Pilatus, the Swiss-based manufacturer of the PC-7. The two companies are now locked in a vigorous competition for a \$170-million contract to supply Britain's Royal Air Force with 120 trainer planes.

Finally, Brazil's export arms industry has been fueled by a policy of waving "end use" certification, under which purchasers must specify a weapon's final destination. Then, said INGERIA's Whitaker, "as a device invented by the big powers to limit

sales by smaller countries." But the policy may soon change. A 1984 Brazilian-American co-operation agreement, which will give Brazil access to U.S. technology, will limit its third-country sales significantly.

Still, the Brazilians seemed to have planned for that contingency since INGERIA has bought a one-third share in Italy's \$600-million AMI jet fighter development program. When the \$10-billion submarine jet, whose wings are reconstructed in Brazil, goes on sale in 1987 it will undercut its rivals in price by 50 per cent, in fact, even with the one constraint. Brazil expects its export surge to continue. "There's always money for arms," said Whitaker. "In two or three years we're going to overtake Britain as Europe's exporters—and the market is infinite."

—RICHARD HOUSE in São Paulo

Carving hope out of the wilderness



sen lasts five months, and one in 10 settlers suffers from malaria. For another, land distribution policies are bitterly and often violently contested. "What happened in the south of Brazil is being repeated," explained Horacio "Beco" Araújo, a São Paulo politician and writer then forced off by larger landowners who arrived later.

At the same time, the difficulties faced by new arrivals are increasing. Obtaining a legal land title now takes up to four years, and the National Institute for Colonization and Agrarian Reform recently stopped taking applications. Increasingly, the displaced and the disoriented seek work as laborers—for wages as low as \$1.75 a day. "It was an illusion to come here," said one disappointed migrant, José Zelazo. "But I don't have the money to go back." Others have decided to go farther, pressing on even deeper into the wilderness.

Brazil's struggle to settle its vast wilderness, Brazil's alone, 97,290 square miles, more than four times the size of Nova Scotia, has raised the potential for an ecological catastrophe. Because land titles in the Amazonian forests are awarded on the basis of who clears the land, environmentalists claim that the program encourages reckless deforestation. Standing on a thin layer of sandy soil, the forest produces, through evaporation and run-off, 30 per cent of the world's fresh water, as well as much of its fish oxygen. When the forest has been stripped, many scientists contend, it will give way to gradual and irreversible aridity. But Brazilian government scientists dismiss those warnings. "There is not the slightest chance of it becoming a desert," says Elton Albers, president of INMARA, the government's agricultural research institute. "If the soil was really losing fertility, then farmers would soon abandon the land. But in the Amazon natural vegetation would quickly return."

But is a nation with little promise of opportunity, many Brazilians view the untamed interior as a source of hope—a gamble offering at least the chance of escape from the urban nightmares of the south and the stark stretches of the north. Indeed, many cling to the belief that they can emulate the success of Vitoria Pôrto, 26, who arrived in Rondônia 11 years ago with only enough money to last one week. Now, his family owns land, supermarkets and gas stations. São Paulo's he has adapted frontier home. "This state is like a mother's heart—there's always room for one more."

—RICHARD HOUSE in Rondônia



Brazilian beetleshells: coffee profits are secondary to "simple and robust arms."

Iran. But on the same day that Brazil was indirectly bolstering Baghdad, Navy Minister Aldeide Kuryba was \$300 km away in Tripoli quietly discussing an arms sale to Libya—a key military supplier of Iraq's enemy, the Ayatollah Khomeini's Iran.

Over the past decade that sort of involvement is one of the world's most competitive commercial endeavors has catapulted Brazil from rank obscurity into the major league of arms exporters. This year, experts predict, Brazil's weapons sales will total at least \$2.6 billion, surpassing earlier on the nation's leading export. Officially, some countries—Cuba, South Africa and North Korea—are prohibited from buying Brazilian arms. In fact, conceded José Luis Whitaker Ribeiro, president of INGERIA, maker of half of the Western world's armored cars. "I sell to one country,

chase, technicians in Venezuela's São Paulo headquarters can make sales presentations to prospective buyers in London, Spanish, French and English, as well as the local Portuguese. And Kuryba is just one of about 250 Brazilian firms—employing more than 10,000 people—now actively engaged in the arms industry.

The growth rate has been phenomenal. Two decades ago Brazil's status among the world's maritime nations was negligible, its expertise limited to remodeling Second World War vintage American tanks. Now, the South American country ranks fifth in the world as an arms exporter (after the United States, the U.S.S.R., France and Britain). Brazil can produce an efficient facsimile of virtually any weapon on the arms catalogue—including only expensive, high-tech items that are the preserve of the superpowers.

When the first bus loads of settlers entered Brazil's rugged and remote frontiers state a decade ago, the trip took more than a month to complete. Not only did bus drivers have to contend with rutted dirt roads, but they also delivered babies on board and during stops rescued stray passengers from prowling jaguars. In 1977 fewer than 1,000 migrants made the journey, a 5,500-km expedition from bustling São Paulo into the distant heart of Brazil's western Amazon region. Then, just full the completion of Interstate 306A—a modern highway connecting Rondônia with the adjacent state of Mato Grosso—cut travel time to 52 hours, opening the frontier and stimulating one of history's biggest land rushes.

Suddenly the trickle of migrants to the area became a flood. This year alone government officials expect one million Brazilians to arrive in Rondônia, lured by promises of virtually free land and a pioneer dream of taming the nation's last frontier. Indeed, the numbers have swelled so quickly that some settlers claim the program is already out of control. "It's named a genocide here in the past six months," said Rev. João Herá, a Roman Catholic missionary from Tipiranga Island, working in Roraima de Moura, a frontier town of 60,000 rising from forest clings. "The government can't cope."

In fact, since 1964 the government has distributed about 138 million acres of

land, adding plots of as much as 207 acres to some one million families at extremely low prices (about \$1.06 per acre). But the resettlement process has created other problems. The many sa-

Brazilian frontiersmen: gun battles



A cautious return to the arms table

By Jared Mitchell

The mood was cool, sober and intensely businesslike in Geneva. As Switzerland's city of peace brooded itself against a brutal European cold snap last week, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko arrived to bring some warmth to equally frosty East-West relations. Hidden behind a thick security cordon, the two statesmen shuttled between their respective United Nations missions, carefully avoiding more than 100 journalists assembled for the event. They determinedly low profile belied the high stakes involved in redoubling the nuclear arms control process—stalled for 13 disarming months.

Then, after 14½ hours of tough discussions spread over two days, a vitriolously Shultz delivered a verdict: "we agreed the world over both sides had agreed to return to the bargaining table. After briefing President Ronald Reagan the following day, Shultz, the former industrial relations expert, declared, "We got what we wanted." For his part, the Soviet government's Jewish state newspaper proclaimed, "The talks end."

Under the Geneva pact, Shultz and Gromyko agreed to begin a new round of negotiations, divided into three sets of talks. Two will focus on limiting and reducing both strategic intercontinental weapons and intermediate-range missiles based in Europe. A third forum will focus on defensive systems, including counterbalancing space-based technology and anti-ballistic missiles. To reach the accord, both sides made significant concessions. Moscow dropped all four preconditions for resuming talks that Soviet President Konstantin Chernenko called for last fall as proof of American seriousness of purpose: a declaration of no first use of nuclear weapons, a nuclear arms freeze, a moratorium on developing antismissile weapons, and formal renunciation of nuclear first-strike treaties that the superpowers signed in 1974 and 1978. For his part, Washington consented to work toward preventing an arms build-up in outer space. Still, the steps back to the bargaining table brought little comfort to the polarized Shultz. "We feel pleased that we have a good agreement," he said. "But nobody's hat should go in the air."

Indeed, the breakthrough in Geneva was limited. "What they accomplished is a procedural success," observed John Steinbruner, director of foreign



Reagan at his press conference, raising public expectations on arms control

policy study at the Washington-based Brookings Institution. Added Soviet foreign ministry spokesman Vladimir Lomakin: "This agreement is just the beginning. The important questions—the nuclear part—have already been solved." And when the actual bargaining begins—an exact date and site will be set next month and the talks could begin as early as March—a range of divisive issues stand in the way of progress.

Still, neither Soviet nor American leaders seem prepared to repudiate the fragile start by reverting to the very rhetoric that has chilled recent East-West relations. During the Shultz-Gromyko percolate, the 30-man U.S. delegation maintained a stiff silence on the subject of the talks. Explained one aide: "This time we're seeking results and not propaganda points." The Soviet contingent was equally mute. Even afterward, the two sides seemed determined not to let public expectations get out of control. In the first actually televised press conference since his November re-election, a low-key Reagan characterized the fruits of Geneva as "only a single step" and vowed to be "flexible, patient and determined" in pursuit of a weapons agreement. Standing in the swirling mists of Geneva, Gromyko

echoed that view, saying, "This is but a step compared to the immense tasks that are to be addressed."

Despite that restraint, superpower allies on both sides of the Iron Curtain clearly welcomed the result. Stunned by Reagan's "strategic defense initiative," nicknamed Star Wars, the plan is intended to protect the U.S. nuclear arsenal from attack by destroying incoming Soviet missiles with space-based lasers and particle-beam technology. Experts differ on whether such a system is technically feasible, but a 206-billion research program is under way. At his press conference last week Reagan de-

clared that view, saying, "This is but a step compared to the immense tasks that are to be addressed." Despite that restraint, superpower allies on both sides of the Iron Curtain clearly welcomed the result. Stunned by Reagan's "strategic defense initiative," nicknamed Star Wars, the plan is intended to protect the U.S. nuclear arsenal from attack by destroying incoming Soviet missiles with space-based lasers and particle-beam technology. Experts differ on whether such a system is technically feasible, but a 206-billion research program is under way. At his press conference last week Reagan de-

clared the concept, saying, "We're searching for a weapon that might destroy nuclear weapons, not people." While Shultz agreed in Geneva to discuss ways to arrest an arms race in space, the administration continued to deny that Star Wars was negotiable. Said the secretary of state: "We don't believe in bargaining chips."

In fact, many arms control experts are surprised that it was four of Washington's new space plans that lured the Kremlin back to the table. So far, Soviet scientists have failed to develop a system to match the U.S. proposal. And the lingering cost of developing a comparable capability would tax a Soviet economy already strained by a military budget that divours an estimated 15 percent of the nation's GNP (compared to 6.5 percent in the United States). Other observers contend that the outcome in Geneva was the product of rethinking by the Soviet Politburo. "Their pessimism and skepticism of the past year have not produced any concrete results," said Helmut Sonnenfeldt, former state department counselor under Henry Kissinger. "In Western Europe, governments found it easier to go along with deployment and defense projects in the atmosphere that was created. And in Eastern Europe there was also momentum about the Soviet war scare. So their whole tactic wasn't really paying off."

Moscow's aim was, Washington hard-liners believe, to lay Moscow to influence public opinion in the West, among the

hairs of a potential arms control agreement to win reductions in defense spending. Sonnenfeldt contends: "The Soviets do want to play on the option in the West. They know every Western country has problems with defense budgets right now, including the United States and Canada. So they think it's better to inhibit military spending by having negotiations going on."

Meanwhile, analysts last week were assessing the odds for an early superpower arms accord. By any measure, the obstacles were formidable. Among the basic unknowns is whether progress in one area of the new talks—strategic weapons, for example—might kindle hesitancy by either side to progress in another area, such as space-based systems. Many observers maintain that the chronic ideological schism within the Reagan administration, as well as the struggle to succeed the aging Chernenko in the Kremlin, will make final agreement very difficult to achieve. Even if those roadblocks are cleared, differences between the two sides on verification and other critical issues remain profound. "Diving out of Berlin, head's up," Chernenko wrote last week, Shultz commented, "It is clear that we have a long and arduous process ahead of us."

Still, as both Washington and Moscow began preparations for what Reagan called the "new dialogue," there was nearly unanimous agreement that the Geneva talks had reshaped the splinter-

ing nature of disarmament. At a recent session in the U.S. mission building in Geneva last Monday night, the two delegations stood stiffly apart, arms folded. The two only began to break between the uncomfortable diplomats when Shultz and Gromyko arrived. The veteran Soviet diplomat turned to his left, posing a photographer's shot: "We have a conversation when we go into this room," Shultz quipped. "He goes to the left and I go to the right."

The evening laughter not only broke the diplomatic tension, it also underscored the genuine relief on both sides of the Atlantic that, at least for the moment, the superpowers had found some common ground.

With Keith Chamberlain in Moscow, Marco McDonald in Washington and David North in Geneva.

Shultz and Gromyko in Geneva, halting Soviet fears of Washington's Star Wars weaponry



An exodus mired in politics

Some journeyed for two years across the African desert. Others had prayed for the exodus since childhood. But the clandestine rescue operation that airlifted 12,000 Ethiopian Jews, known as Falashas, to safety in Israel came to an abrupt halt last week—shorted by official confirmation of its own success. With 4,000 Ethiopians Jews still waiting in Sudanese transit camps and another 8,000 trapped in drought-ravaged Ethiopia itself, an Israeli government panel began an investigation into how details of Operation Moses—code name for the mission—had been obtained by the press.

It was the disclosure, and the avalanche of ensuing publicity, that forced embarrassed regimes in Sudan and Ethiopia to end their discreet co-operation and to deny all complicity. It also forced Trans European Airways, the Belgian charter airline that flew its planesloads of Jews from Sudan to Tel Aviv via European cities, to cancel further flights.

Even with the details, the airlift sparked a furor in the Arab world. Sudan accused Ethiopia of selling the



Peres: nothing will halt the rescue

black Jews for \$20 million in spare military parts. In turn, Addis Ababa labelled Khartoum a Zionist sympathizer—the press promptly agreed to accuse Jerusalem's offer of \$200,000 in food and medical supplies for its starving millions. For its part, Libya demanded an emergency meeting of the Arab League to discuss the operation.

Inside Israel, the coalition government of Prime Yitzhak Mordechai Peres faced a storm of controversy. Opposition parties in the Knesset (parliament) threatened a motion of no confidence, charging that the Jewish Agency, a semi-official government body, had jeopardized thousands of lives by confirming news reports of Operation Moses. Among the most vocal critics were the Falashas themselves. Cailing upon the government to remove the families that had been left behind, a crowd of 500 demonstrators in Jerusalem demanded punishment for those responsible for the disclosure. "This is sabotage," protested Yitzhak Rabinowitz. "This is calculated murder. In the refugee camps, they die from dehydration, malnutrition, disease. Now there is added the punishment of a bombastic behind a table demanding their lives." Others accused Israel of seeking to back out of the rescue mission. "They probably said that what we have here already in Israel is enough," said Yehoshua Teitel, who

marched with the demonstrators.

Peres insisted that the airlift would reaffirm "the economic difficulty, an internal division, no geographical distance and no political obstacle will halt the effort," he maintained. "We shall not rest until all our brothers and sisters from Ethiopia come home." Several commercial airlines had privately offered to assist the evacuation effort. But Peres warned that the mission could only succeed if Israel returned "to our previous restraint and silence."

For most Israelis, even the unfinished exodus was a source of pride. With the nation wracked by 800-per-cent inflation, a \$22-billion foreign debt and unemployment at a 19-year high, the additional burden of absorbing thousands of famine-stricken Falashas might easily have proven beyond Israel's means—or he will. Begun during the late 1970s, Operation Moses has cost Jerusalem an estimated \$200 million. But the acceptance of critics is at the very foundations of modern Israel. Founded in 1948 in the aftermath of the Nazi holocaust, Israel in swift succession absorbed the surviving remnants of Jewish communities in Europe, North Africa, the Middle East and, most recently, the Soviet Union. Under the nation's Law of Return, any Jew is eligible for citizenship.

The Falashas—the word is an Amharic pejorative meaning "corker"



Ethiopian family: to a promised land

—claim to be direct descendants of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, the result of a love affair in the 10th century BC. That link has never been verified, but in 1975 Israel's chief Sephardic rabbi ruled that the Falashas, who call themselves Beta Yisrael (House of Israel), were indeed Jews—descendants of Dan, one of 10 tribes lost after the Assyrian conquest of 722 BC. Their religion is based on the ancient five Books of Moses, but they are entirely ignorant of the vast canon of Jewish oral law that now makes up much of modern Judaism. Living in isolation, most had never seen electricity, telephones or indoor toilets until they arrived in Israel.

Their assimilation into Israeli society is also complicated by health factors. Most are malnourished. Many carry exotic parasites or suffer from jaundice, malaria or tuberculosis. But last week, as the Falashas expressed concern for their cousins in Africa, the Ethiopians in Israel were already taking classes in language and history. "We learn quickly," said Israel Yitshak, who arrived a year ago and now speaks fluent Hebrew. "I explain something to you and we pick it up." Indeed, not far away, on the doorstep of an absorption center, two Israeli women—both soldiers in the army—were showing a 15-year-old Ethiopian girl the glories of tall polish. —DAVID BROTHMAN in Jerusalem

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Computer an attempt to avoid a potentially dangerous military vacuum.

LEBANON

Facing the stark realities

Among warring countries around the world, Brian Crockett, the United Nations Undersecretary General, has a reputation as a shrewd and experienced peace negotiator. This week the veteran diplomat turns his attention to an area of chronic instability—South Lebanon. Arriving in Beirut, Uqash's immediate task was to persuade Prime Minister Shamon Puro to suspend Jerusalem's relatively unproductive two-month-old talks with the government of Lebanese President Amr Gemayel. The negotiations, taking place under UN auspices in the Lebanese border town of Naqurah, have a single objective: the creation of security arrangements in South Lebanon that would allow for the withdrawal of about 10,000 occupying Israeli troops. But last week, Israel's 19-member cabinet adjourned twice in special session in preparation for Sunday's full-cabinet debate on a proposal with profound implications for Lebanon—the complete or partial withdrawal of Israeli forces before any agreement with Beirut has been reached.

A unilateral pullback, observers concede, would create a dangerous military vacuum, leaving the prospect of new conflict between rival Christians, Druze and Shiite Muslim militias in the South. At the same time, it would likely bring to the early return of Palestinian guerrillas, whose presence helped provoke Israel's 1982 invasion.

One obvious solution, according to spokesmen for both sides, is the expansion of the 5,000-strong United Nations Truce Force in Lebanon (UNTF). But

Jerusalem wants the UN's mandate to run north from the Litani to the Awali River. Beirut has not only rejected that proposal. But in their 12th session with the Israelis at Naqurah last week, the Lebanese insisted that dissolution of the UNTF's expansion could only take place after Israel offered a firm timetable for withdrawal. With that, Israeli negotiators threatened to suspend the talks.

The military stalemate is complicated by political debate and diplomatic intrigue. While Puro has promised Beirut to bring the army home, the Litani faction in his cabinet government opposes even a partial redeployment of the Israeli Defense Forces, arguing that it would expose settlements in the nation's northern sector. The Gullian, in attack by rival and Shiite fighters. Some key politicians, including former defense minister Ariel Sharon, refuse to support any shift in Israeli lines. That policy paralysis led to Uqash's mediation effort.

For his part, Gemayel's own coalition government is largely dominated by his powerful eastern neighbor, Syria, which still maintains as many as 20,000 troops in Lebanon's Bekaa valley. And many observers contend that Syrian President Hafez al-Assad wants Beirut and Lebanon to keep the talks going, but not to reach agreement. An Israeli withdrawal, analysts say, would give momentum to new Middle East peace initiatives now being discussed by Assad's Arab allies, Egypt and Jordan. As the Israeli waited for Uqash, the outlook for an early settlement appeared remote.

—JIM MORNIN IN BEIRUT

GLOBAL NOTES

A princess is warned



Margaret royal scare

Her father, King George VI, died at the age of 56 after an operation for lung cancer. The patient herself admitted to a three-pack-a-day cigarette habit. As a result, when Princess Margaret, 54-year-old younger sister of Britain's Queen Elizabeth II, entered London's Brompton Hospital last week for what a spokesman called "investigative" friends and family voiced immediate concern. The next day, after surgeons removed a small portion of her lung, medical officials said the tumor was "benign" of cancer. Relatives and friends, including her former husband, Captain Peter Mountbatten, have been urging the princess to give up smoking. Referring to last week's scare, her friend Norman Lindsay observed, "I should think this would change her mind."

Paying for the past

Spotting a blue-grey suit and a tan cap acquired on a winter vacation in the Virgin Islands, ruler John A. Zaccaro pleaded guilty last week in a New York courtroom to two counts of real estate fraud. The 55-year-old son of a mobster and assassin that haunted his wife, Geraldine Ferraro, during her historic but unsuccessful candidacy for vice-president of the United States. Zaccaro, 51, pleaded guilty to a charge of abetting an appraisal loan for five Queens buildings that a client wanted to purchase and convert to condominiums. He also overstated his assets as \$25 million, compared to about \$4 million that the family had claimed on its net worth during the election campaign. A third charge—submitting a false contract that inflated the cost of the buildings—was dropped as part of a plea bargain which guaranteed that Zaccaro would receive a one-year jail term. Instead, in addition to the \$90,000 fine he lost in the deal, the result of his plea was to pay a \$1,000 fine. District Attorney Robert Morgenthau concluded that it was a crime where "nobody got hurt." Zaccaro, 51, pleaded guilty. The former congressman himself signed a statement that "John is a decent, honorable man." But if Ferraro decides to run for the U.S. Senate, it will provide a clear test of whether Zaccaro's indictment will cloud her own political future.

Confessions in court

Testifying in a Texas courtroom that his orders had "appealed at the top," former Polish secret police captain Grzegorz Piotrowski last week admitted leading the operation to kidnap pro-Solidarity priest Jacek Pajdak on June 10, 1981. As he recounted the details of the event, including the priest's abduction, torture and murder, the former authoritarian stated he needed that he had no hard proof that a "hand"—or senior official—had authorized the act. Strapping his shoulders, Piotrowski spread his arms theatrically and added, "Perhaps it is better if there was no hand." That was a view that the government of Dan Wyspianski, Jaruzelski's first prime minister, took. In Wyspianski's Poland's first public trial of the security forces, the regime seemed determined to

demonstrate that top officials were not involved in Piotrowski's death. But Piotrowski did implicate his own boss, Col. Adam Pietrasinski, testifying that the former deputy director of the interior ministry had issued the kidnapping order. He added, "I don't have to tell you that this is a decision of the highest level." Piotrowski himself denied any involvement in the affair, claiming that the secret police were anxious to curb Piotrowski's anti-Communist strategy but had not considered the use of force. With that testimony, the trial seemed headed in a direction many Poles were anticipating: the exoneration of any official whose participation would put the Jaruzelski government's credibility at risk.

Losing a foothold

Even before the battle began, rebel general Ekan Del had conceded, "We will not fight to the last man." As a result, when Vietnamese tanks rolled into the Angkor headquarters of the Non-Communist Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KNPLF) in Kampuchea last week, few observers expected the Kampuchean resistance to beat back the Vietnamese thrust. Instead, the KNPLF strategy effectively resembled Angkor and sent 5,000 rebel troops scrambling for safety across the nearby border with Thailand. Still, while the insurgents vowed to counterattack with hit-and-run raids, Angkor became the seventh rebel base to fall during Vietnam's current dry-season offensive. Vietnam's anti-guerrilla drive is the largest since its 1975 invasion, which toppled former King Norodom Sihanouk. Pol Pot had established the People's Government of Kampuchea. The current campaign is aimed at destroying the credibility of the political opposition, now recognized by the United Nations as the only legitimate government in Kampuchea. But the offensive has also forced the evacuation of more than 10,000 civilians into refugee camps in Thailand. To prevent their return, Vietnam has put thousands of laborers to work building ditch fortifications along the border. And experts predicted that having routed the principal non-Communist forces, Hanoi would now turn its attention to its bitter Communist foe—the 30,000 troops of Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge.

Paradise under siege



President Pons

The proposal incorporated the demands of both factions—but in the end pleased neither. After a month-long study of international tensions on the South Pacific island of New Caledonia, French special envoy Edgar Pisani last week unveiled his proposed solution. July referendum on self-rule by 1995, but in close association with France. The independence referendum of 56,000 native Melanesians has sparked an insurrection against 14,000 European settlers committed to retaining the island's status as a purely French territory. One result: 16 deaths since November 1981. Melanesians denounced Paris's power-sharing plan. The Europeans remained indifferent. Following renewed rioting and the killing of a Melanesian leader, France hastily imposed a state of emergency in the shattering. Eventually, a solution to the crisis was not at hand.



Decker: a new husband, an equestrian road race, an Olympic crying jag and an award

Author **Marilyn Callaghan**, 81, whose latest novel, *One Lady of the Shores*, is scheduled for publication this spring, says that modern sex has become too much of a public affair. "There is no mystery to copulation anymore," said Callaghan. "It is just bang, bang, bang—and it is all on your television." By contrast, Callaghan submitted, although the central figure in his new novel is a hoodler, "she brings to sex, or at least appearance, a real sense of intimacy and tenderness." Claiming to have worked over the story for five years until he captured the characters to his satisfaction, Callaghan, who will be 82 on Feb. 24, maintained that he had no direct contact with their real-life counterparts. "I used to walk through 'the track' every day," said Callaghan, referring to one of Toronto's prostitute districts. "I would be my way to the CNE. I would see the girls would either smile or leave me alone—I am a good guy and a voyeur."

Callaghan: 'Intimacy'



Veteran Hollywood hoodler **Gene Kelly**, 73, who is executive producer and cohost of the new movie *That's Dancin'*, will add an Honorary Genie Award from the Academy of Canadian Cinema this week to the "Outstanding achievement" awards bestowed on him in the past. They include an honorary

Oscar, Prince's Legion of Honor, and an award from the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts. Scheduled to host the Canadian gala premiere of *That's Dancin'* in Toronto on Jan. 16, Kelly said that he was "grateful to have been considered as a recipient of the award" and was "most pained" to *Mayor Arthur Regginton* for naming Jan. 15 Gene Kelly Day. Kelly, who earned the title of "King of the Hollywood Musical" with his dancing and choreography in such classics as *Singin' in the Rain* and *American in Paris*, also said he was "thrilled to be coming to Toronto." Kelly's father was born 134 km east of there in Peterborough, Ont.

Runner **Mary Glicker**, 36, said it was that **Zolt Bold** was "backwards" at fault for the running accident during the 3,000-m race at the Summer Olympics in Los Angeles last August, when Decker spent the barefoot Bold and collapsed on the side of the track. Carried walking to the sidelines by drama diva **Richard Dreyfuss**, whose she starred in *New Year's Day*, Dreyfuss slumped in despair while Bold dropped to seventh place and Romanian runner **Monica Pice** went on to win the gold medal. Now, both Bold and Dreyfuss are back in competition—but not with each other. Decker, who received TV Guide's "Male Nice Guy" award in this week's issue for

her Olympic crying jag, is scheduled to run in the one-mile event at the Millrose Games in New York on Jan. 25 and the U.S. Olympic Invitational in East Rutherford, N.J., on Feb. 9. Bold has entered the 10-km annual road race scheduled for March 2 in Phoenix, Ariz., but Dreyfuss, who signed a five-year contract in 1983 to run in the same race, has dropped out. Bold Decker, who insists that her Olympic clash with Bold is bad history. "I think I have the right to feel my own feelings."

Artist **Chloe Wiseman Wilks**, 51, many of whose graphic drawings of modern display heterosexual and homosexual activities, says that for 25 years dealers and agents repeatedly told her that her works were "unacceptable"—but we dare not show them here." Wiseman Wilks, whose new show is scheduled to open at the Del Bello Gallery in Toronto on Jan. 18, profits artist-magician **Charles Fiedler** with giving her an initial break in April, 1992, her first one-woman exhibition at his art gallery in Toronto. Her drawings have since been exhibited at shows in Edmonton and Calgary. Inspired by the dances of **Elly Willems**, a Dutch Jew who died in the 19th in the New concentration camp at Auschwitz, Wiseman Wilks says that the drawings in her current show "explore the intense bonds among women." But, she added, "Hill's experience is less—mine is more." —**BARBARA L. DEBARTOLO**

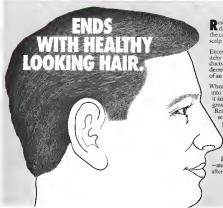
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A dramatic decline for gold



Completed Red Lake mining operations in Ontario, investor gambles, plunging prices and the threat of mine shutdowns

By Tim Powis and James Piercing

The Scott's gold mine lies in the arid, mountainous country of the Coast Mountains, 80 km north of Stewart, B.C., surrounded by glaciers, lofty peaks and, since last week, uncertainty about its future. Donald McLeod, president of Vancouver-based Scott's Gold Mines Ltd., which owns the mine, described the setting as "the beautiful but rugged." More importantly, the mine, which has produced 90,000 oz of gold and 60,000 oz of silver since it began production in October, 1983, is also remote—a fact that makes it very costly to operate. Last week, as the price of gold dipped below \$300 an ounce for the first time since 1982, McLeod temporarily shut down the Scott's mine, throwing 100 people out of work, because production had become uneconomical. The mine will not be reopened, said McLeod, "until gold recovers to \$400 an ounce."

The Scott's shutdown typifies the worst effects of the dramatic reversal in fortunes that gold has undergone in the past five years. That reversal has spread madness throughout Canada's 44 gold mining firms, with annual production of more than \$1.2 billion. Scott's and other mines like it, where the cost of produc-

ing an ounce of gold ranges all the way from \$350 to more than \$500 because of transportation expenses and the low quality of gold being mined, now face either total shutdowns or extensive layoffs. Their promising prospects at the beginning of the decade, when a gold-buying panic forced the price of bullion to a record high of \$875 an ounce on Jan. 21, 1980, have disappeared.

The majority of the nation's gold

Plunging bullion prices have forced layoffs and slashed profits in the nation's gold mining industry

mines, which produce gold at an average of \$400 an ounce, will survive the current downturn if the price of gold does not fall even more dramatically. But they too have been afflicted by falling profits and share prices. Since mid-November mining company shares have fallen dramatically on the stock markets, battering the resource-dominated Vancouver Stock Exchange and sending the gold mining index on the Toronto Stock Exchange down by 33 per cent.



The reasons for gold's current fall from grace lie with the fickle habits of investors around the world. Traditionally, the ingredients for a bullish bullion market are economic uncertainty and rising international tensions. Gold's rise to an all-time high in 1980 was spurred by soaring inflation rates to oust Western economies, gloomy economic forecasts and rising military tensions in the Middle East. Since then gold prices have been on a roller coaster ride, finally falling to their current low. According to Donald McLeod, president of Goldcorp Investments Ltd. of Toronto, historically high interest rates—the prime rate in Canada stands at 11 per cent—have made other investments such as bonds and bank term deposits more attractive. At the same time, fears of rising inflation have subsided.

Most analysts agree that an upturn in the price of gold depends on a slowdown in the U.S. economy and a fall in the value of the influential U.S. dollar. But Robert Cook of Toronto-based Merrill Lynch Canada Inc. "I do not think you will see a rise in the price of gold until there is a weakening in the U.S. dollar, and you will not see that until there is a weakening of the U.S. economy." Added Cook, "A lot of the marginal gold operations are going to get hammered."

So far, plunging metal prices threaten

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en to hit Quebec and the Yukon the hardest in '94 (\$20,000). Loomer lost almost its new Chama mine, putting 60 people out of work. Last week Germane Langlois, director of the Quebec Metal Mining Association, warned that the Loomer layoffs could be quickly followed by 150 more by the province's 18 gold producers if the price slide continues. Said Langlois: "The present gold price for the majority of mines in Quebec is below their costs." Layoffs are already rumored to be imminent at the Lamacque mine in western Quebec, owned by Vancouver-based Teck Corp. Behind the 10-year old mine, which employs 400 people, is a strong shareholder candidate. Said Teck vice-president Keith Stevens: "We are losing a lot of money." For his part, Dennis Penna, president of the Yukon Chamber of Mines, said that the falling price of bullion and a matching slump in the price of silver threaten to weaken the very foundation of the Yukon economy.

Ontario mines also have been hit by the price slide. Toronto-based Mines Ltd. of Toronto, one of the world's highest-cost gold producers, has moved operations at two of its five mines in the Timmins area. But mines in the Hemlo district on the north shore of Lake Superior are not currently threatened because of their high-grade ore and low production costs.

According to Paul Penna, the outgoing president of Agnico-Bagge Mines Ltd., a government Toronto-based gold producer, many of the mines now facing shutdowns were not profitable even when the price of gold was much higher. Declared Penna: "How many of these things were really viable at \$350 and \$400 that are not viable now?" Agnico itself is in an enviable position. At around \$200 an ounce, its production costs are among the lowest in Canada.

To lessen the financial damage of the current slump, many companies are selling gold on the futures market at higher prices than currently prevail. That entails finding an investor who believes that gold prices are bound to rise. The investor then signs a contract to take delivery of a quantity of gold at a fixed price on a certain future date. Citing that as success, Echo Bay Mines Ltd., based in Edmonton, has sold forward 20,000 oz.—11 per cent of its 1993 production—from its Lajun mine in the Northwest Territories.

But for many companies the only hope lies in the speedy arrival of a healthier gold market. Analysts disagree on when gold will recover, but Penna dismissed the view that gold has lost its appeal. Said Penna: "Are you going to tell me to wait a month, six months, a year, when gold has been number 1 for 6,000 years?"

With Plans, There is No Problem

GM counters the Japanese

It began with the the energy crisis of 1972. In a sudden explosion of supply, fuel-efficient Japanese cars flooded the North American market. Added by lower production costs, Japanese cars now account for 17 per cent of the market in Canada. An even greater lifeline was provided only by the quotas which Ottawa and Washington have imposed on Japanese imports since 1980. Then, last week the Detroit giant, General Motors Corp. (GM), declared a major new offensive in its decade-long war with its Japanese rivals. Company chairman Roger Smith announced the creation of a new subsidiary company, Saturn Corp., which will take advantage of the latest high-technology methods to produce a new economical line of Saturn cars. Said Smith: "It will be the most efficient plant site anywhere in the world."

The cars produced by the new plant will try to compete head-on in terms of cost and quality with Japanese imports. Smith said that the company will invest a total of \$5 billion in the new operation, which will be built by 1994 at a site still to be chosen in the United States. The plant will be highly automated, relying heavily on robotics and when it is in full operation it will employ 6,000 workers to produce 400,000 to 500,000 cars a year. Although GM did not disclose a selling price for the new Saturn cars, analysts estimate that they will sell for as little as \$15,000 (U.S.), a price that is competitive with that of comparable Japanese cars. Currently, lower production costs enable Japanese firms to produce a car for between \$11,000 and \$12,000 less than their American counterparts.

Still, opinions vary on how successful the Saturn project will be. Ralph Lucare, vice-president of national advertising for Honda Canada, Inc. in Toronto, said that the Saturn Corp. is part of a worldwide transformation of the auto industry, involving greater use of robotics and new types of materials such as ceramics and plastics which allow greater design latitude. Added Lucare: "If they do launch a car on that scale in that price range, there is no question that it will have a significant impact on the market." But Detroit auto analyst Arnold Jaeger was more skeptical. Jaeger pointed out that the popularity of small, fuel-efficient cars has already declined and that 70 per cent of the cars now sold—including 60 per cent of Japanese imports—are "premium," retailing at around \$14,000. He added, "If anybody else but General Motors tried it, it would be foolhardy."

—BARRY BLACK in Toronto

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Short-term relief



Geoff A. Russell

According to economists the drop is due to the Federal Reserve Board decision to lower U.S. rates in order to stimulate a faltering economy. Carl Sussner, vice-president of International Ltd. of Ottawa, a forecasting firm, said that he expected rates to drop further in the first half of 1985, since he is to keep pace with the latest selling of John Gray, an economist with Moody Guelley Ltd. of Toronto, also predicted a drop in the prime, to close to 10 per cent by March, and a subsequent rise.

The long arm of U.S. law

The decision ended two years of legal wrangling between the Bank of Nova Scotia and U.S. justice officials. In Vancouver last week the U.S. Supreme Court rejected the bank's appeal of a \$1.8-million fine imposed in 1983 by a Florida district court. The penalty arose after ScotiaBank refused a grand jury request in Miami for financial records pertaining to an alleged illegal drug operation in the Caribbean region that the bank held in its branch in the Cayman Islands. The bank had argued that handing money laws in the country gave it 70 per cent from such disclosures. Throughout its confrontation with U.S. justice officials, the Toronto-based ScotiaBank had the support of the governments of both Canada and the Cayman Islands, which protested to the court that the United States had no right to enforce its laws on companies located in foreign countries. By January, 1984, ScotiaBank was granted approval from financial authorities in the Caribbean country to release the documents, but that did not absolve it from paying the \$20,000-a-day fine it had incurred over a two-month period. Last summer the U.S. government reached an agreement with the Caymanan authorities on gathering information on related drug cases which should prevent similar difficulties in the future. But as ScotiaBank pointed out last week, that does not solve the more important issue of whether U.S. authorities can apply their laws to foreign jurisdictions. Said the bank: "We regret that the Supreme Court declined to clarify U.S. law in this area."

Taking Pickens to court

There are no more T. Boone Pickens has granted authority on the West for his personal failure to deliver him for major oil companies but still making multimillion-dollar profits. In early January his latest corporate takeover attempt—of Phillips Petroleum Co. of Bartlesville, Okla.—hit a legal obstacle. Last week shareholders of Phillips launched a \$250-million lawsuit in a Los Angeles district court against the company and against Pickens, preventing the legality of a

lucrative agreement that Pickens struck with Phillips on Dec. 28 in return for selling off his attempted takeover. That attack began on Dec. 4 when a group of investors led by the chairman of Mesa Petroleum Co. of Amarillo, Tex., announced that it intended to use \$66 million for 25 million Phillips shares in order to increase its holding in the firm to 20 per cent from 5.7 per cent. Pickens said that the group would then take control of the Phillips board of directors by electing new members. To fight off the economic bid, Phillips agreed to pay the Pickens group \$22 million for the 25 million shares, even though the company's shares had been trading below \$25 last summer. The price paid for Pickens and his fellow investors \$90 million in their lawsuit the shareholders charge that Pickens misled investors because he did not intend to complete the bid. Pickens denied claims that he was misleading and said he had made the deal with Phillips because the falling world price of oil had made the takeover a less promising venture.

People with work

The figures surprised everyone from economic pundits to politicians. Statistics Canada announced last week that the nation's unemployment toll fell in December—normally a slow month for job creation—to 10.8 per cent from 11.4 per cent the month before. At year-end, 1,316,000 Canadians were unemployed, down from 1,366,000 in November. That brought the rate to the lowest level since May, 1982. Said Red Curran, senior policy adviser with the Toronto-based C.D. Howe Institute: "The figures are encouraging because they show an increase in the number of full-time jobs, a situation that was worrisome during the recession." Indeed, in December full-time employment grew by 47,000 jobs, while part-time decreased by 14,000. Yet other economy watchers noted a more troubling figure: the number of discouraged workers—those who have given up looking for work—grew to 108,000 last month from 97,000 in November. Still, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, who presided over the election campaign to create "jobs, jobs, jobs," was encouraged.

A high-flying venture



Bullock: Intekas

At a meeting in Calgary last week, INTEKA president Brian Bullock and John MacDonald, chairman of MacDonald Dettwiler and Associates Ltd. of Vancouver, an electronics firm, signed a multimillion-dollar production agreement for the development of INTEKA, a lighter, more compact and stable system that will be mounted on a jet, cutting survey time dramatically. INTEKA is attempting to raise \$5 million of the anticipated cost of \$24.2 through a private share offering next month. The last financing firm (1983) raised \$18 million) intends to make a public offering in early 1985.

Hands across the mighty Pacific

By Peter C. Newman

Early next month Raymond Orell, a 38-year-old veteran of the Canadian Trade Commissioner Service and currently assistant deputy minister of international trade development with external affairs, leaves Ottawa to take on the presidency of the Asia Pacific Foundation, Canada's most important think tank.

His appointment—plus the addition to the foundation's directorate of Don Getty, Alberta's former energy minister, Allen Lambert, chairman of Tridon Financial Corp., and Marc Desjarlais, president of Montreal's CIBC, which specializes in worldwide technology transfers—signals the belated recognition that Canada is indeed a Pacific nation.

The statistics are there for anyone to ponder. In 1983 Canadian exports to Asia bypassed our trade with Europe, and nearly half of our immigrants now come from the Pacific, compared with less than a third who still arrive from Europe. Our trade with South Korea alone rivals that of our total commerce with France, yet we still shortchanged peer level Europe hunting for business prospects. According to recent data from the Asian Development Bank, Canadian firms led on only 28 of the 2,100 projects put out to tender in the Asia-Pacific area during the past two years. Despite this abysmal lack of interest, a quarter of Canada's 500 largest corporations have opened Asian subsidiaries, and our direct investment in the area is getting close to corresponding European totals. Still, most Canadian chief executive officers continue to disregard the Pacific's alluring commercial possibilities. "We need a comprehensive new shift in awareness," says Patricia Weiner Freeman, editor of Asia Pacific Business magazine. "We need to realize that this is a Pacific continent with 10 national markets and the bulk of the world's population."

The man who has worked consistently to bring about just such an appreciation is John Brink, 46, a lawyer who abandoned his hefty corporate career two years ago to set up the Asia Pacific Foundation. An ardent and articulate advocate of the idea that Canada will never prosper or even survive unless we start expanding our mental and cultural boundaries, Brink may be the prototype of the successful Canadian businessman of the future: great at his home turf but determined to prove

himself in the world marketplace. "If we do not quickly extend ourselves as a major economic and political force within the Asian community, we will face diminishing world stature and a declining standard of living," he predicts. "The fact of global economic interdependence has shifted from Europe to Asia, and as a Pacific nation we have a natural opportunity to share in the region's dynamism, but to do so we will require a concerted national effort."

What makes Brink's message so sig-



Brink: the alluring Asian potential

nificant is that, unlike most advocates of global ideas, he has actually done something about it. The Asia Pacific Foundation, which he established in the summer of 1984, will continue under his chairmanship, though, as new president, Ray Anderson will take care of day-to-day business. In contrast to most politicians and Chamber of Commerce types, Brink realizes exactly what is involved in winning a worldwide share of the Asian market. "We must understand their languages, philosophies, religions and cultures to grasp the vast systems that propel their achievements."

As well as his business, the foundation has on its board several influential economists, including Howard Peich, president of the University of Victoria; Ronald DeGroot, the Laidlaw professor at the Canadian Embassy in Tokyo; and Asia Studies, Louis St-Laurent, who teaches international economic organization at the University of Quebec; and Mary Sax, a professor at St. Mary's University in Halifax, formerly first secretary for cultural and external affairs at the Canadian Embassy in Peking. Brink plans in time to establish downtown teaching centres across the country that would help businessmen learn their overseas trading skills. "We hope to be like a lighthouse, so that Canadians who want to know anything about the Asian Pacific will turn to us."



One reason Brink is so aware of cultural imperatives is that he himself came to Canada from Vancouver in 1956 and had to adapt to a new way of life without a head start. One of his first jobs was as a grocer's monkey with Canadian Forest Products, then he toiled as a laborer at Kitimat. He saved enough money to pay his tuition through the University of British Columbia and eventually graduated in both commerce and law. His climb up the corporate ladder culminated in 1974 when he was named president of Cypress Avril Mining, the Yukon base-metal operation eventually taken over by Dome. Brink has spent much of the past year travelling in the Far East, and his home thoughts from abroad nearly all have to do with opportunities yet to be grasped. "In my dealings with Asian peoples," he says, "I find that they understand very well the subtle differences between Canada and the United States, but are puzzled at our lack of appreciation of their wants. The Japanese, for example, are successful because they know precisely what our needs are. They don't try to sell us their kimono or chopsticks but hire Italian designers to fashion the goods that will attract North American consumers. We should not be surprised that they are so successful. They have simply put the necessary effort into it."

The Asian Pacific Foundation is something of a revolutionary institution itself, being funded to the tune of \$1 million each by the federal government, provincial treasuries and private enterprise. An important part of the foundation's mandate is to upgrade the understanding of Canadians dealing with the quizzical and intriguing Eastern world.

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The lengthening shadow of ghost towns

By Hal Quinn

Branching off Highway 802, about 150 km west of Thunder Bay, Ont., a side road dips and bends and ends at a short-link fence. Beyond the fence is an abandoned British-American Oil Co. service station. In the distance, two dozen bungalows line gently curving streets. But as children play in front of the short fence, the entire community is in suspended animation. Burnell Lake is a ghost town.



Pure: ghost towns from Newfoundland to Vancouver raise questions about the methods of developing Canada's resources

one of more than 400 in Canada that have become the casualty of developing a country. The Canadian copper mine at Burnell Lake became non-commercial and closed in 1966. And the town, like other failed communities across the country, reflects the vulnerability of resource-based economies. It also raises questions about the best methods of obtaining minerals from the earth, timber from the forests and fish from the sea.

The ghost towns dot the landscape from Newfoundland to Vancouver Island, half-forgotten reminders of abandoned or bedeviled efforts in the international price of minerals which rendered the mines too expensive to work. Some were built before Confederation, others have died in the past 30 years. Three years ago Union City,

Sask., 300 km northeast of Edmonton, joined the list and now in Schefferville and Gagnon, Que., and in Fawn, Yukon, dwindling numbers of residents persistently strive to stay on in their once-thriving towns.

Only four years ago more than 3,000 people lived and worked in Union City. Now it is almost abandoned, with a population of 150. More than 400 houses and vacant, the town boarded up and the windows shattered because Elderado Nuclear Ltd. sounded the death

with the atomic quote well. "Then he added, 'They have not had much choice.' The 20-year-old diesel car as a maintenance engineer and ambulance driver for the 17-bed local hospital. Said Samson: "There was could not adjust have left town. The ones who remain would likely leave if the hospital were to close."

Union City has shrunk as the remaining residents have moved into an area one-half-mile square in which hydro and water services are still available.



Nicholson formerly progresses others now live up for free groceries at the union hall

north of Quebec City. But now rent rows of empty houses stand as mute reminders of the November, 1983, announcement by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, then Iron Ore president, that the mine which had sustained the town for 30 years would close permanently. Said Lynn Ross, 25, the municipal secretary-treasurer and one of Schefferville's 280 remaining residents: "The town is still there—it is just that hardly anyone is living in it. For most of us who knew Schefferville as a town, there will always be a nostalgia, a sense of loss."

Such losses are inevitable, according

to Ron Brown, 29, a community planner with the Ontario government, and author of the 1983 book *Ghost Towns of Ontario*. Said Brown: "All that can be done is to recognize in the first place that it will not come day. The companies should move to mobile homes, not build permanent ones, and not feel the people into thinking that it will be permanent." And in Gagnon, Que., the scene of permanent town of 25 years of iron ore mining for a gradually controlled outcrops, but also disappeared. More than 3,000 people have left the town on Quebec's once-thriving North Shore.

Still, many of the 1,000 people left in Fawn, Yukon, feel that the safety net has been torn away. Their meeting, Doug Perlemon was scheduled to close the town's last and after mine on Dec. 31, 1984, but locally hired the workers out as the end of October when contract negotiations broke down. As a result of the losses, the miners expect rising unemployment insurance, and miners who earned on average almost \$50,000 a year no longer mingle in groups on their vacationing but, instead, rub shoulders while living up for free groceries at the local store. And some residents say they worry that their home town, which had a population of 2,000 in 1982, will soon become the country's latest ghost town. They said Michael Nicholson, 27, the mine's resident manager, are seeking federal assistance. Said Nicholson: "Our power, transportation and labor costs are all higher than competitors'. If these costs can be reduced, I think we can reopen the mine and run it profitably." Others say, Fawn, like Burnell Lake, Ont., will become nothing more than part of Canada's past.



since the late 1970s. By the end of 1984 the remaining 1,500 residents will also depart; the town will shut down and become the responsibility of the provincial government.

To avoid repeating similar mistakes, provincial and federal governments now move more slowly before establishing new resource-based communities. Said Robert Keyes, 36, a director in the mineral policy sector of the federal ministry of energy, mines and development: "The days of a community founded upon a single industry are over. We will no longer see the establishment of a community just for the fun of it." Indeed, one of the recommendations of the 1983 task force has proved: "The development of a community must be in the northern Saskatchewan and the Northwest Territories. There, federal and provincial officials suggest that companies operate on a "fly-in, fly-out" basis, with little permanent construction and an obligatory cleanup of the environment after operations when they close down.

But in established communities now struggling with a mine shutdown, governments, labor unions and companies are still trying to work out ways to share the costs of shutdown. Several payments and federal and provincial benefits use employees' transition and relocation, but Keyes says he is concerned about businesses who grumbled—and lost—that they could make a living applying the unemployment with goods and services. Said Keyes: "How far do you go in spreading the safety net?"

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West Fawn, Yukon in Fawn, Yukon, and in Union City, Ontario. Union City in Schefferville, Quebec. Workers in Gagnon and Fawn, Quebec, are Ontario.

The mythology of community weeklies

By George Bain

In the mythology of journalism there lived in every big-city newspaper a reporter or copy editor whose dream it was, out of his weekly \$25.00, to buy that little country weekly. There, he would become publisher, editor, raising up the printer and in his spare time he would stand in the doorway, looking in the reverence of the townsfolk for the authoring wise counsel of his editorials.

A slow thought, with very occasional infusions of reality—in when Ted Moser left the managing editor's chair at *The Globe and Mail* five years ago to become proprietor of the *Crowther Pan-Producer* in Blainville, Alta. But between the news covered by the legend of the weekly as a sort of parasitic hobby farm and the present-day truth, only a tenuous link exists. Consider:

When George Coadwell bought the *Durham Chronicle* in Durham, Ont., in 1950, he paid \$17,000 for it, with an \$8,000 option on the building he lives nowadays, after a peripatetic career, at Nelson-Manitoba, N.B. He and his wife, Rita, are members of the board of Caden Publishing Ltd., the New Brunswick company. Founded by their son, David, who runs the Miramichi paper, Caden owns the towns of Newcastle, Chatham and Dieppeville. It is a rare thumb in the weekly newspaper business, subject to such variations in the sort of community paper it is and the state of the place and equipment that price will equal volume—in other words, the paper should sell far about the equivalent of a year's turnover. Last year the Coadwells' paper, the *Prince George Citizen*, did about \$8 million.

Weekly publishers are aware of the slumps that make it their business. In Nova Scotia Ralph Herzig, who, with his wife, Margaret, publishes *The Bulletin* in Bridgewater, the *Progress* in Lunenburg, and a third paper, *The Lakeshore* in Lunenburg, which supplements both, said: "If we were to sell, I would have to look to me of the clients." In independent, one-city weeklies still exist but chains and stores are increasing in numbers.

The biggest chain of weeklies (today's accepted term is "community newspapers") is Metroland Printing, Publishing and Distribution Ltd., a subsidiary of Thestar Corp. Of its 14 suburban Toronto newspapers, the largest—and



the largest one mostly newspaper in the country, with a Wednesday circulation of 70,000—is the *Metronews*. News Thomson Newspapers also has weeklies. In Newfoundland 31 of 14 weeklies are owned by one company, Robinson-Blackmore Printing and Publishing Ltd. of St. John's. In Nova Scotia Cansim Publications Ltd. comprises eight general-interest newspapers, plus a farm and an agricultural newspaper.

But the cluster of two or three related newspapers within what constitutes one marketing area is even more in the current mode. Shortly after Moser took over the *Producer* in Alberta, he founded a new newspaper, the *Edmonton Mirror*, across the provincial boundary in British Columbia, about 35 km long. About half his circulation was there, anyway; many people from the area came into Alberta to shop because Alberta has no retail sales tax. Advertisers now have two newspapers to choose from—with a handsome discount for choosing both.

If community newspapers have tended to group together more, like the dailies, they have also, and while the dailies, thrown up many new newspapers started from scratch. This week, in Victoria, B.C., was started about five years ago by three defectors from Thomson's *Fortis* Enterprise—Robert Tison, now publisher, Richard DeRyk, editor, and Edward Beller, production manager. The paper now has 20,000 circulation, an editorial staff of five (the *Enterprise* has had to come up in response), and is so well-run and head-and-head with its entrenched rival *Times* (MacNeil) started the *Victoria Times* in Victoria, B.C., 11 years ago. It has a circulation of 6,000 and is the best paper on the island, daily or weekly. In Whitehorse David Robertson, who has a taste of journalism from casual involvement with a newspaper at College Militaire in London, Ont., 11 years ago. It has a circulation of 6,000 and is the best paper on the island, daily or weekly. In Whitehorse David Robertson, who has a taste of journalism from casual involvement with a newspaper at College Militaire in London, Ont., 11 years ago. It has a circulation of 6,000 and is the best paper on the island, daily or weekly.

The weeklies are also, prospering—and different. Typewriting is computerized. Front pages bloom with color. Less often now are they slight, small enterprises. But in one respect they remain true to what they have always been. They are devotedly parochial.

More trains on the tracks

Last Nov. 19, when federal Transport Minister Don Macdonald opened a Rail Passenger Action Plan, he promised that the three-year advisory panel would quickly generate proposals to revive Via Rail, Canada's deteriorating passenger train service. Declared Macdonald: "It is not just a matter of time. It is a matter of action to move the system into the 21st century." Then, last week it became clear that the committee has already produced several suggestions acceptable to a Tory government eager to demonstrate that it can do a better job of running a railroad than its Liberal predecessor.

Macdonald is expected to announce at a press conference in Ottawa this week that Via will receive a national passenger service between Halifax and Montreal next summer as well as revive daily service on the northern transcontinental rail route from Winnipeg through Jasper, Alta., to Vancouver. The Crown-owned railway service will also restore trains on several regional routes, including the Toronto-Peterborough-Thunder Bay in southern Ontario. All three routes will return to a controversial 1981 Liberal economy drive in which eliminating 15 trains and 100 jobs was one of the measures that provoked heated protests from travellers, merchants and railway workers across the country.

The rail service has lost money since its inception in 1967, when Via took over passenger train operations from Cn and Cn Rail. Since then, obsolete and unreliable locomotives, uncomfortable passenger coaches and chronic delays have kept the service from becoming profitable. But now, in more conventional times, despite bad trade a retooling comeback. Naturally, the main reason for the service's revival is the growing demand for more services, the task force members know that Via is being asked to do more with less money. Finance Minister Michael Wilson cut \$60 million from Via's 1986 budget of \$694 million last November. Despite continuing optimism among Canadians who like travelling by train, it remains uncertain how many of them will help revive Via's declining by riding the trains on a regular basis.

—ANN FLETCHER

A primer on parenthood

MISS MANNERS' GUIDE TO READING PERFECT CHILDREN

By Judith Martin
(MacCollins and Stewart,
\$35 paper, \$27.95)

In the heyday of the 1960s and 1970s popular culture decreed that good manners were a quaint, out-of-recessed form of behavior. Adults everywhere reassured—some might say



Martin, arguably not-in-the-flesh

forced—into another to "let it all hang out." They in turn raised little fashionists who were more inclined to get in touch with their own feelings than they were to write thank-you letters to aging aunts. But now, in more conventional times, etiquette has made a resounding comeback. Naturally, the main reason for the service's revival is the growing demand for more services, the task force members know that Via is being asked to do more with less money. Finance Minister Michael Wilson cut \$60 million from Via's 1986 budget of \$694 million last November. Despite continuing optimism among Canadians who like travelling by train, it remains uncertain how many of them will help revive Via's declining by riding the trains on a regular basis.

and whose parents how-to-make-one book, *Miss Manners' Guide to Reclaiming Correct Behavior*, was a deliciously witty best seller.

In *Miss Manners' Guide to Raising Perfect Children*, author Martin, who affects a Victorian pompadour and an attitude both long-in-the-tooth and well-in-the-know, explains her tradition of offering respectful, sensible advice to parents and mores with elegant style and tart humor. From reality to college and beyond—indeed so far beyond that she sometimes strays into avoidance—Miss Manners advises on all the important matters of child rearing, including how to talk baby talk. She tells her readers to dispense with the "you-go-go" and instead ask the infant for advice about the stock market, that will charm the adults in the room and normalize the child in civilized conversation. She also comments on how to win the politically unworkable battle of dressing one's child to accommodate both his and one's own peer pressure and how to manage teenage child's obnoxious child behavior in one's own home by saying, in stately tones, preferably accompanied by a leer, "I wouldn't do that, dear, because you might get hurt." She even has thoughts on the correct way of gracefully receiving a young child from a friend's house when she or he passes in the middle of a sleepover. "Leaving at midnight is favorable, but returning two hours later for one's blanket is not."

While Miss Manners tends to keep on a familiar theme, which includes discussing relentlessly into children's hands the necessity of saying please and thank you, she is clearly in step with the times. She offers important hints on sexual etiquette for single parents and advice on the right way to teach mother and child to divorce. "No child should ever be asked his opinion on the advisability [of divorce], or be allowed to think that he has any influence in the matter," she says firmly.

Best of all, while Miss Manners clearly sticks to her principle that children must be taught how to be civilized and that parents should set the example and not the child, she is, for the most part, an impartial arbiter of good taste. She comes down on the side of neither adults nor children but of civility. Martin regards politeness toward one's family members as the glue that holds most happy families together. "It is never too late to learn a few things," she writes, "but in family life, the essential."

—JUDITH TIMMONS

A THOUGHT FOR YOUR PENNIES



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The dark shadow of the hawk

IN THE INTERESTS OF PEACE
CANADA AND VIETNAM, 1954-1972
By Douglas A. Ross
(University of Toronto Press,
\$4 paper \$35)

The 30-year war in Vietnam destroyed almost everything it touched. In the 1960s the French fought against Ho Chi Minh's Communists only to see their own government collapse amid strenuous popular opposition to the human and financial cost of a colonial war against a guerrilla enemy. Then it was the United States' turn, and the greatest military power in the world found itself stymied by the resoundingly of lightly armed fighting men clad in black pajamas. The Vietnam War destroyed Lyndon Johnson's presidency, and also blighted the career of his successor, Richard Nixon. Canada was fortunate to avoid full involvement in the struggles that caused its allies so much grief. But this country did play a major backstage role—as documented by a young and combative University of British Columbia political science professor, Douglas Ross, in his able, often passionate study, *In the Interests of Peace*.

Part of the reason Canada was able to avoid involvement was its historic lack

of interest in Asia. More importantly, in 1954 the Geneva Conference on Indochina had asked Canada to serve on the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam to oversee France's disengagement from Indochina and to try to prevent conflict between Ho Chi Minh's North Vietnam and the struggling new country of South Vietnam. These 18 years of tense service made it hard for the Americans to press Canada into contributing militarily to their war.

But in 1964 as one of the departments of external affairs or national defence in Ottawa, looked on Vietnam peacocking duty as good fortune. John Foster Dulles, U.S. secretary of state, considered the Geneva accords a setback and the Americans were less than happy that Canada would join with the Indians and Poles in supervising the truce. The strain of carrying out the assignment was also difficult for the undermanned Canadian foreign service

corps to bear, and there were additional difficulties caused by friction with the Communist Poles and the neutral, but tacitly, Indians. Still, as Ross demonstrates, the Canadian government took on the task because it believed that to do so would serve the interests of peace. For the next few decades, through wars cold and hot, Ottawa maintained the same attitude.

Ross's book is a model piece of scholarly work because of its thoroughgoing research and for its scrupulousness in setting out his assumptions. The first is that the American intervention in the war was never fully to succeed and that Washington policymakers knew this. Second, he argues that South Vietnam was never strategically vital to the United States. But most significantly, Ross states that the conflict was always in danger of escalating into a nuclear war between the superpowers. It was that which motivated the Canadians—most particularly Lester Pearson, who as foreign minister and later as Prime Minister was fearful of the ten-



Pearson speaking out

der of American bombs to fly off the loath. Ross, of the most sensitive sections of Ross's book analyzes Pearson's reasons for speaking out against President Johnson's bombing attacks on North Vietnam in his famous Temple University speech of 1965. Pearson, says Ross, was repudiating publicly...to growing left-liberal sentiment among the Canadian public...[and] to pressure from the left-liberal wing of the department of external affairs as well."

But what makes Ross's book especially fascinating is the academic war that he wages in its pages. His chief adversary is Prof. James Rayns of Dalhousie University's political science department, one of the country's most distinguished scholars of foreign policy. In his book *In Defense of Canada, Indochina: The Roots of Complexity* (1985), by Ross's own publisher, the University of Toronto Press. Rayns argued that the Vietnam War had provided Canada with an "opportunity to complicate."

To Rayns, Canada had served in Vietnam as the virtual handmaiden of the United States. As well, he portrayed Pearson in particular as almost always willing to acquiesce in U.S. interventionist planning.

But Ross declares that position to be nonsense. He calls Rayns's research into question repeatedly and lambastes his judgments. The text and notes abound



Control Commission soldier: helpful

with the demands, charges of a scholarly indictment, "unwarranted distortion of the facts," "assumptions and unsupported claims," and "unreliable reliance on others' work. There has scarcely ever been such a full-throated denunciation of a writer and respected academic by a peer in this country. Most importantly, Ross proves his case, demonstrating effectively that Rayns's denunciation is not soundly based on the record. What adds piquancy to the professors' confrontation is that the elder scholar is the radical, the younger the more conservative—and the more concerned with facts.

The scholarly differences between the two are not simply hair-splitting. Rayns argued the fashionable view—that Canada slid into the embrace of U.S. foreign policy during the Vietnam War—while Ross maintains that Canadian policy had as its goal the constraint of the United States from escalating the war into a catastrophe for the Asian race. To Rayns the national policy was shameful, to Ross, less emotionally involved, the Canadian record was careful, generally sound and helpful. When good scholarship confirms what people would like to believe, it is a pleasure. And in addition, Ross's revisionist look at last restores complexity to the story of Canada's involvement in a complex war.

—JACK GRANATSTEIN



IN THE WORLD OF RUMS, THIS ONE STANDS ALONE. MYERSS TROPICANA RUM.

In search of a death star

By Pat Ohlendorf

The theory has a compelling and sinister appeal: somewhere in space, still undiscovered, a mystery star is orbiting the solar system. But unlike the life-giving sun, the star is malicious. Indeed, some astronomers and physicists contend that the star is responsible for regular mass extinctions of species of life on Earth, including the disappearance of the dinosaurs. As a result, they refer to it as Nemesis, or the Death Star. But not all scientists accept this dark vision. Instead, some of them claim that a body known as Planet X, which orbits the sun somewhere beyond Pluto, is responsible for the same catastrophes. For its part, the American Astronomical Society is investigating the mystery at its annual meeting this week in Tucson, Ariz. But that is proving to be a difficult undertaking: neither proponents of Nemesis nor Planet X can give that the bodies ever exist.

The debate is now a simple theoretical dispute. In California, physicists and astronomers are scanning the

heavens and examining records of data from 1945 (the U.S. orbiting infrared telescope) in a race to find either Nemesis or the 10th planet. But those efforts, declared astronomer Andrew T. Young of Pennsylvania's Villanova University, are like "searching for two needles in the cosmic haystack."

Nemesis was the first to attract the attention of astronomers and physicists. The death star may only be a "red dwarf," a common type of star less than one-third the size of the sun, according to its leading proponent, physicist Richard Muller of the University of California at Berkeley. Said Muller: "Two-thirds of all known stars belong to multiple star systems, so it is not unusual that the sun might have a companion."

Unfortunately for the scientists hoping to find it, Nemesis may now be trillions of miles away, at the far end of its supposed elliptical orbit around the solar system. Scientists who support the Nemesis theory contend that the star will move six times closer to the Earth in another 13 million years. And at that

time, the astronomers say, Nemesis will disturb the "Oort cloud," a reservoir of comets that surrounds the solar system, sending a billion comets hurtling into the inner solar system. During the shower, which the scientists predict will last from one to three million years, at least one comet would collide with the Earth and produce devastating results. To find Nemesis, Muller and physicist Jorinda Kice are scanning 5,000 red stars with an optical telescope at Berkeley. They have programmed their computers to find one that is close enough to fit the theory of Nemesis's location.

At the same time, in Lafayette, La., astrophysicists Daniel Whitmore and John Malone are working on a second theory. They contend that it is a 10th planet, so far beyond Pluto that it would graze the inner edge of the comet belt in its elliptical orbit, triggering a deadly shower of comets every 36 million years. Whitmore, a Nemesis advocate until April, shifted his attention to Planet X because of some known evidence that it indeed exists. "Unlike Nemesis, Planet X is not an ad hoc model postulated purely to explain mass extinctions," he told *Nemesis*.

That evidence is a result of recent calculations of the mass of Pluto and its moon, which experts discovered were not heavy enough to account for discrepancies in the orbits of the outer planets,

Uranus and Neptune. In 1990 scientists discovered Pluto, the ninth planet, because those same discrepancies suggested that an unknown body was tugging on them. Now Whitmore claims that Planet X is responsible for the unaccounted discrepancies and that it will not be long before that confirms the presence of a new planet.

In 1980 Nobel Prize-winning physicist Leon Abravanel and his son, physicist Walter Abravanel, both of the University of California at Berkeley, first suggested that the densest of the dinosaurs had an extraterrestrial cause. They reached their conclusion after finding large amounts of iridium—a trace element on Earth but a fairly abundant one in comets and asteroids—in rock formations that date from the time of the dinosaurs' disappearance. They suggested that a five-mile-wide comet or asteroid hit the Earth, tearing up a blanket of dust which obstructed sunlight and caused mass starvation. Since then, scientists have found evidence layers dating from other prehistoric eras. And a year ago, University of Chicago paleontologists John Sepkoski and David Raup found evidence in fossil data indicating that mass extinctions occur about every 36 million years. To many scientists the crisis inspired an astronomical phenomenon: an orbiting body that collides with the Oort cloud once

every 36 million years. Then the race to discover Nemesis—or Planet X—began.

Nemesis champion Muller admits to a certain "elegance" in the Planet X theory. But he added, "If I had come up with it, I would have thrown it out because I doubt very much that a planet could cause that particular kind of comet shower." Declared Planet X proponent Whitmore, "Nemesis may have serious problems of stability. Over the age of the solar system, the period of its orbit would change drastically."

For their part, the scientists whose discoveries triggered the controversy are also divided between Nemesis and Planet X. The Abravanel team is rooting for Nemesis, while Chang's Sepkoski and Raup currently favor Planet X. And in Flagstaff, Ariz., astrophysicist Roger Steinmetz—a prominent Nemesis critic—argues that the supposed extinction cycle may only be coincidental. The fact that the age of the iridium discovered in craters does not quite match the dates of the extinctions makes the whole theory "muddy," he added.

Despite their rivalry, both groups of scientists defend the value of their work. Said Muller: "The next time Nemesis [or, for that matter, Planet X] shows up, we'll have the technology to handle it. We can send up a satellite equipped to detect incoming comets—creating, in effect, a comet umbrella." ☐



Muller, Kane will Nemesis return?

SKINING

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The thrills of the chaste

COLD FEET

(Written and directed by Bruce van Dusen)

Cold Feet is telling what an encounter between young, upwardly mobile professionals is to love an affair on a low budget. Writer/director Bruce van Dusen has linked Tim (Griffin Dunne), an independent TV movie-maker, and Marty (Marvin Haskins), a scientific researcher. He is shielding his wife's child (Hannah Baker), and she is divorcing her much-loved soul partner (Bill Crugstad), who loves her body and patronizes her mind. Tim and Marty are both victims of the 20th-century blues. Marty is in therapy because she has a modern woman's problem: alone, she knows who she is, but with a man she loses her identity. Tim is confused too. He succumbed to the emotional male tradition and married a beautiful woman who has grown up with a life of poverty class and who cannot face the world without him. In Cold Feet, a refreshingly odd version of the mating game, Tim and Marty have entered the world's longest-running battle, the sex war.

Meanwhile, work, another ingredient of a happy life, is falling from Tim. He fights with the expenses of his film over artistic integrity. Marty is unable to get her boss at the lab to take her dependent, experienced assistant. Marty and Tim date others (freely), but the inappropriateness of their partners is funny and painful. And when they finally do attempt with each other, their meeting is as carefully guarded as the courtship of porcupines. Cold Feet is new movie in which lovers actually avoid going to bed with each other.

The charm of the film develops unexpectedly. At one moment, the dialogue seems banal and the story's progress plodding. But, slowly, van Dusen's mature style asserts its own appeal. His is the world view of a compassionate conservative, progress, especially in relationships, is slow. The movie is beautifully cast, with mostly unobtrusive actors. At times, Dunne's Tim lacks humor, seems fussy and shy, or as dejected as a wail. He is a mirror for Marty's sublimation to say she is the most attractive. As Marty, Haskins performs seamlessly: frustration, punishment and frustration to anxiety and as the baby-talking Leslie Baker may be Hollywood's best little boy-hiss. Cold Feet contradicts its title: it has a warm and generous heart.

—GINA MALLEY



Green (right) with the human spirit in the battle against arthritis

TELEVISION

A war of crippling pain

I'LL GET THERE SOMETIME
(Circ. Jan. 29)

Documentary film-maker John Zaritsky has a talent for seeking light on some of life's darker corners. In *Just Another Morning* (Jan. 29), the story of a young Ottawa boy who is locked while hitchhiking, he investigated the case with a thoroughness and sensitivity that won him an Academy Award in 1983. With *I'll Get There Sometime* Zaritsky turns his camera with disturbing and fully researched problem of arthritis. As the film points out, most people consider arthritis as merely a disease of the aged. In fact, it affects 8.6 million Canadians of every age, crippling many with an inflammation and gradual destruction of the body's parts. The disease comes in 115 different forms, from the garden variety osteoarthritis—which most Canadians can expect to get at some point in their lives—in the knee and other joint areas, which weakens connective tissue and major organs. With its revealing scope, *I'll Get There* is a first documentary to bring the private pain of arthritis victims to public attention.

The film opens informally, although rather clumsily, with a brief flurry of facts about the disease. Then Zaritsky moves swiftly to the real-life cases of four arthritis sufferers whose life has been so drastically redefined by the disease. One is a woman who has been so severely disabled by the disease that she cannot even walk. Another is a man who has been so severely disabled by the disease that he cannot even walk. A third is a man who has been so severely disabled by the disease that he cannot even walk. A fourth is a man who has been so severely disabled by the disease that he cannot even walk.

shared actors, and they are often awkward before the camera. It is also difficult to portray past events convincingly when the individuals now look 50 or 60 years older. Despite those shortcomings, some of Zaritsky's vignettes possess an odd poignancy, one 10-year-old boy, Betty Wheeler, seems to relieve her anguish as she recreates a disheartening conversation with her doctor about her deteriorating leg.

I'll Get There sympathizes strongly with arthritis sufferers, but it looks at the medical profession with a highly objective eye. Gail Green, a North Bay, Ont., teenager, nearly suffered permanent disability when her family doctor wrongly diagnosed her arthritic joints as rheumatic fever. In fact, Gail had rheumatoid arthritis, one of the most serious forms of the disease. But on the whole the medical profession and various breakthroughs in treatment are portrayed positively and clearly.

Although *I'll Get There* fails to touch on controversial remedies such as copper bracelets, hot stages and diet, such omissions are minor in light of its raw emotional strength. As Zaritsky's camera frays the painful lives of these four, it also captures the human spirit in still the chief combatant.

—JOHN BROWNE

THEATRE

To pluck a heartstring

John Gray has done it again. The Canadian playwright, whose award-winning hit musical *Billy Bishop Goes to War* played on Broadway in 1985 and who has recently finished filming *The King of Friday Night*, a movie based on his stage play *Rock and Roll*, has brought another authentic slice of Canadian life to the stage. His fifth major stage production, *Don Messer's Jubilee*, premiered on Jan. 4 at the Neptune Theatre in Halifax. The play, another musical, focuses on Messer's successful 1950s-country music television program, but to celebrate its hometown charm and to mark the values of the CBC bureaucracy which cancelled it in 1960.

As the play opens, the program's host, Don Messer (played by Bill Carr), acts as narrator, reminding his listeners of the time when "people listened to music, not Japanese sound equipment at a time when 'a twister and a wailer were a bird and a dog.' The play's main capacity audiences indicate that the nostalgic message is almost as popular now as the Don Messer TV program, which between 1960 and 1969 sometimes outperformed the ratings of *Rocky Night* in Canada.

Gray has crafted the character of Messer himself from the play. Instead, Remond appears on a stage draped with his own photographs of the artist and leader and sets him in the context of his Maritime Scots background, a culture in which the fiddle was almost a second voice. With dialogue kept to a minimum, the subsequent song-and-dance numbers tell the story of the program's rise and fall. The play's message is clear: the program's success was due to the program's other characters, among them Charlie Chamberlain, the Jubilee's most boisterous personality, and Marg Osborne, a plain, chubby, good-natured singer.

Although the members of the cast bear little physical resemblance to the originals, they compensate for their bodily dissimilarity with high spirits and fine acting. As Marg, slim, pretty Betty Priest appears misanthropic, but she convincingly develops her character through songs penned by Gray which capture the heart of the program's success and unrequited love. Frank Mackay is also believable, despite the fact that he is much younger than the hapless Charlie. As Don Gray's *On the Road*, a man between Charlie and Marg, is one of Gray's favorite musical themes. The song itself, the two regulars performing their stage relationship—singing romance

ballads—with the astringent reality Charlie accuses Marg of being a strident virgin. Marg counters that Charlie is often an unconvincing drunk.

Of the show's 19 songs, only two are Messer originals, Gray composed and



Mackay as Chamberlain: tapping into

wrote the lyrics of the rest. For the most part, his music is lively and infectious, significantly so the story. But at times Gray seems to rely so heavily on the songs that they become repetitious, some with overly long. Still, the four dancers (Linda Elliott, Kathryn MacLellan, Ray Cameron and Bob Poirier) and the Islanders (Messer's back-up band, played by the Halifax-based trio

McCarthy) are usually able to reanimate the pace simply by providing toe-tapping music.

The predominantly sunny mood of *Don Messer's Jubilee* makes the announcement of the program's cancellation all the more disheartening. Gray makes it clear that Messer's simple and heartfelt performance became an embarrassment to the CBC hierarchy. In *The Corporation* (Jan. 26) both lyrics and dance artists perform with the same stage "Don't treat any of them," the dancers perform a reel with four men—then and then with them in the back. The dancers remind the audience that the cancellation of the show provided thousands of fans to send letters to the CBC and even to stage an unsuccessful demonstration on Parliament Hill. But the CBC had abandoned it for good. In 1973, shortly after the show moved to Hamilton, Ont.'s independent station, CH34, Chamberlain and Messer both died of heart attacks.

Don Tremblay, a former member of the TV show, saw Gray's play and pronounced it "bug an." Those who remember the show in its heyday will find the play a loving tribute, with the same nationwide appeal as the original. For those too young to remember, *Don Messer's Jubilee* is an enterprising bit in the end tragic glimpse of what has been lost.

—SHARON ALLEN

MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

Fiction

- 1 *The Talmud, King and David* (A)
- 2 *Straw Medicine, Haskins* (B)
- 3 *The Fourth Protocol, Forsyth* (B)
- 4 *The Shillim, Pao* (B)
- 5 *Shaw's Book, Mitchell* (B)
- 6 *First Among Equals, Aronson* (B)
- 7 *The Aqueduct, Fregonese* (B)
- 8 *London* (B)
- 9 *Not Wanted on the Voyage, Fowling* (B)
- 10 *Paradise & Kisses, Jorg* (B)
- 11 *The Day, Gray* (B)

Nonfiction

- 1 *Isolation, Fowling with Haskins* (1)
- 2 *A Day in the Life of Canada, Edited by Cohen* (2)
- 3 *The Talmud Inside Canada's Stock Markets, Ross* (3)
- 4 *The Provincial Lord, Haskins* (4)
- 5 *For the Dark Order, Aronson* (4)
- 6 *Why They Don't Think You Are Harvard Business School, McCormack* (4)
- 7 *Sons of Shambler, Moore* (5)
- 8 *Shambler, The Making of the Prime Minister, Macdonald* (5)
- 9 *Tight, A Hockey Story, Williams* (5)
- 10 *Gordie, Gordie and Taylor* (5)
- 11 *Paradise and Kisses* (5)

Fifteen minutes of fame

By Allan Fotheringham

Everybody understands Andy Warhol (for whom you can be famous). He did not say that everyone in the world eventually will be famous for 15 minutes. What he did say, and there's a difference, is that everyone should aim for 15 minutes. It was an enigmatic statement. As one who has tasted the bitter goodness of fame, who has seen its good side, Warhol was saying that it would be nice if the cleaning woman and the bus driver could be famous for just a quarter-hour. Like, about the wealth Spread it around. He has too much fame to bear, so why not lay off the seltzer a little? Dole it around, like a thin layer of peanut butter.

Bernard Hugo Goetz instinctively recognizes the theorem: Goetz automatically qualified as the first 15-minute famous person of 1968 when he calmly plucked a silver-plated revolver from wherever one conceals silver-plated revolvers and played four young black men on a New York subway. He is the wisest hero of the post-Goetz 15-year. To make it complete, he actually did the deed three days before Christmas (a Screenage with a Saturday Night Special?), but his fame has expanded on the exponential scale as 1968 has advanced. Bernard Goetz is a parenting vacuum in American 15-minute celebrity time. The genre begins with Lee Harvey Oswald and continues on down the line with the demented young man who gunned down Bobby Kennedy and John Lennon and who almost got Ronald Reagan. One of them, I believe his name is Hinkley, still releases the papers every few weeks with his innocent and boring demands from prison as to his human rights and his demands to get back into the Warhol Law. One supposes we could go back to John Wilkes Booth, the modern actor who couldn't cut it on the stage and therefore achieved immortality by killing Abe Lincoln.

The New Yorker filled the obvious vacuum because he became a "good" gunman. The buddy category had been

once crowded. He has become the vigilante hero of a city terrified of crime, in a nation plagued by crime, because when the four youths approached him, supposedly demanding money, he methodically shot each of them, one of whom is now paraplegic and, at the time of this writing, is in a coma. Money has poured in for the Goetz defense fund, profits in New York ring his praise, and editorialists analyze him.

Goetz was sent to one of the most expensive private boarding schools in Switzerland, near Lake Constance. In a Sound of Music setting of equestrian

had insured him against a couple, aided by a newspaper.

Something obviously snapped. Was this well-flood young bachelor—kind to his neighbors and his neighbors' children, according to his neighbors—been stalking the suburbs ever since, waiting for chance for the Warhol Law? One would think so. One of the young layabouts (18, eldest of five children, all but two of whom were fathered by different men, a ninth-grade dropout, a cocaine addict, father of a child by a mother he no longer lives with) claims the sharp-eyed accelerometers with which he and his companions were

found were merely for breaking into video machines, their daily living, and that they had only asked Goetz for \$5 as pass-borders so they could plug into the machines. Other witnesses say the products of the suburban South Bronx housing project that looks like bombed-out Beirut were already running away when Goetz took aim with his stubby handgun and carefully shot them all. If little matters, in the age of Warhol. Celebrityism is both pretentious and trivial. Warhol said, say, Frank Sinatra can testify as to the latter. They have more

than they can handle, would willingly farm out some of their fame to the neighborhood salesman who makes it into the record books by punching out Billy Martin in a bar one forgetful night. Sinatra is one who has had more fame as a person and a womanizer and a puncher-of-photographers than he really needs, when all that is required was the deserved notoriety for his tooth. There are some—Michael Jackson, Carl Lewis—that fame kills off before they can really establish their right to it. Before they become immortal, they become holes. Joe Clark was famous for nine months, an extended state of euphoria that will haunt him the rest of his life. Jimmy Carter has never recovered from his brief moment in the sun, rendered that briefly because of the intrusion of a Warhol example even more tragic. Billy Carter and his beer can and Libya. History is very slippery—very undergirding. Bernhard Goetz is this month's Warholism.

and ski trails and flower-decked buses in an old cathedral town, Bernhard spent his high school years, at \$22,000 in debt each year. His father made a fortune in Florida real estate. Young Goetz became an electronics specialist, his company's president and sole employee, a "genius," according to one of his clients, a man who had received top-secret clearance because of his work with nuclear operations, according to the camp followers of the media who visited all the extraneals on this reverse hero, the gunman who does good.

One night returns. What would such a successful man, 31, be doing riding the New York subway, domain of all the lower species of mankind? The answer, probably, is that in 1961 Goetz was engaged in a subway station while carrying \$1,000 in electronic equipment. The suspect, a 16-year-old, was kept in criminal court for 2½ hours. Goetz was detained for six hours. Three weeks later he spotted on the street the man who



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